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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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DANTE'S SCHOOL OF THE EAGLE

THROUGH the shadow of Limbo Dante sees approach four shades. Virgil names them:

"Mira colui con quella spada in mano,
Che vien dinanzi a'tre sì come sire.
Quegli è Omero poeta sovrano,
L'altro è Orazio satiro che viene,
Ovidio è il terzo, e l'ultimo Lucano."¹

They welcome back Virgil as "l'altissimo Poeta," and presently make Dante a sixth of their "school,"—

"la bella scuola
Di quei signor dell'altissimo canto
Che sopra gli altri com'aquila vola."

And, declares Dante,

"Così n'andammo infino alla lumiera,"—

"toward the light," that is, shed from within by a noble Castle with seven walls and seven gates, and moated by a fair stream.

In common with a popular medieval symbol, this Castle is generally taken to signify the stronghold of Reason, or of human Wisdom, walled by the four moral and three intellectual virtues. "The stream may well stand for eloquence. The gates probably symbolize the seven liberal arts of the *trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy), which afford access to knowledge."²

Now this interpretation well enough defines the quality of the noble Castle and the education of those within its close; but by itself it helps little toward explaining the dramatic situation.

¹ *Inf.* iv, 86-90.

² C. H. Grandgent, ed. *D.C.*, note *ad loc.*

Dante says:

"Questo (*the stream*) passamo come terra dura.
Per sette porte intrai con questi savi."

To pass a stream of *eloquence* "as dry land" is hardly a clear or happy analogy. Dante did—but long before "il mezzo del cammin"—enter the seven gates of knowledge, *trivium* and *quadrivium*; but certainly not under conduct of "*questi savi*." With other medieval schoolboys, he indubitably entered the gate of Grammar, for instance, with

"quel Donato
Ch'alla prim'arte degnò por la mano."³

Surely his only possible guide to the fullest knowledge accessible to man's own intellectual virtues would be

"Il Maestro di color che sanno,"—

Aristotle, present there within the Castle. And Aristotle's guidance as to the moral virtues, his "*Ethics*," was Dante's also.⁴

The inhabitants of the Castle have won their measure of peace and felicity by following the moral and intellectual virtues. Virgil, who is one of them, says so;⁵ but they lacked, he says, the three holy ones, by which the celestial paradise is won. The felicity of the Castle is an earth-bound felicity; so the Castle is shut in by earth; Virgil's Elysian Fields are subterranean.

Also, the Castle is not, as Professor Grandgent calls it, a "palace of Wisdom," but a defensive stronghold, walled and moated. Against what enemy? In hell, none; for there the forces of evil are locked up. But on earth the life of Reason, led in accordance with the moral and intellectual virtues, has a perennial enemy—Cupidity. Against omnipresent cupidity, the dictates of Reason are not enough; there must be an authority with power to enforce them. The stronghold of this authority, defending its citizens against cupidity, is imperial Rome,⁶

³ *Par.* XII, 137-8.

⁴ Cf. *Inf.* xi, 80. Undoubtedly, indeed, Dante accepted Aristotle as Christianized by Thomas Aquinas.

⁵ *Purg.* vii, 34-6.

⁶ The whole argument of the *De Monarchia* converges to this point. Cf. *Mon.* III, xvi.

—the city of seven walled hills, and girt by the stream of the Tiber.⁷ It is fitly called a "*nobile* Castello"; for the Roman people is "noblest" of all, and most honor-seeking.⁸ The people of the Castle are "onrevol gente," and their love of "honor" is stressed.⁹ Desire by great deeds to win great honor is magnanimity.¹⁰ Virgil, apostle of Rome for Dante, is "*il Magnanimo*," converting Dante from his previous "*viltà*."¹¹ The Castle-dwellers are described as

"con occhi tardi e gravi,
Di grande autorità ne' lor sembianti;
Parlavan rado, con voci soavi."

Deliberateness—absence of that hurry which

"l'onestade ad ogni atto dismaga,"—¹²

and a certain disdainfulness and aloofness, declares Aquinas, are traits of the magnanimous man.¹³ Dante considers them Roman traits, traits of an imperial people. Virgil compliments him, of Roman descent, for his disdainfulness.¹⁴

The light of the noble Castle

"emisperio di tenebre vincia."

The light of imperial Rome illumines—or should illumine—the habitable world; and the habitable world is the northern hemisphere of earth. Rome is truly a cosmopolitan center. The *civitas Caesar*, superseding by Christ's election Jerusalem, *civitas David*, is more than a city-state; it is a world-state. It makes citizens not only those of Roman birth, but also others

⁷ The walls of ancient Rome—from Servius Tullius to Aurelian—only extended from hill to hill; so there would be literally seven of them, though of course not "encircling seven times." But in any case, a symbol need not present an exact equivalence. "In metaphoricis locutionibus non oportet attendi similitudinem quantum ad omnia: sic enim non esset similitudo, sed rei veritas." Aquinas, *S.T.* III, viii, 1, ad 2.

⁸ *Mon.* II, iii.

⁹ The word in various forms is repeated five times in ten lines, vv, 70–80.

¹⁰ Aquinas, *S.T.* II–II, cxxix.

¹¹ *Inf.* ii, 43–5.

¹² *Purg.* iii, 11.

¹³ *S.T.* II–II, xxix, 3, ad 5.

¹⁴ *Inf.* viii, 44–5.

of Roman worth. So the celestial Rome

"ha fatto civi
Per la verace fede,"¹⁵

but it has adopted others like Rhipeus, who, though not knowing Christ, yet

"Tutto suo amor laggiù pose a drittura."¹⁶

So it is in no wise incompatible with the noble Castle symbolizing Rome as the dispenser of moral and intellectual light that the magnanimous Saladin should appear—"solo in parte," indeed—within the castle-close, or that the great masters of philosophy and science from all lands should be there. Rome adopted and dispensed their learning, gave them honorary citizenship of the spirit.

The list of the rest is significant. Electra heads it—Electra, daughter of Atlas and mother of Dardanus. From her, Dante declares in the *De Monarchia*,¹⁷ Aeneas, "father of the Romans," derived the nobility of two continents, Africa and Europe. She was his—and therefore Rome's—"most ancient ancestress," *avia vetustissima*. Next are named together "Ettore ed Enea,"—Hector, losing whom Troy was lost, and there was opened

"la porta
Ond'uscì de' Romani il gentil seme"—¹⁸

in Aeneas and his followers.

Next is named Julius Caesar, world-conqueror and first Roman Emperor.¹⁹ Then are named together the magnanimous warrior-maidens, Cammilla and Penthesilea, not Romans but worthy of Rome in their heroism; then the Latian King and his daughter Lavinia,—he not Roman, but meriting citizenship by begetting the "mother of the Romans";²⁰ then the Brutus who freed Rome from the tyrant Tarquin, avenging in one act

¹⁵ *Par.* xxiv, 43-4.

¹⁶ *Par.* xx, 121.

¹⁷ *II*, iii.

¹⁸ *Inf.* xxvi, 59-60. "L'aguato del caval" was the proximate cause of the fall of Troy, but Hector's death destroyed the Trojans' last hope. He was, says Dante, for them "la luce del consiglio, ed. . . termine in che si riposava tutta la speranza della loro salute." *Conv.* III, xi, 163-5.

¹⁹ *Conv.* IV, v, 100.

²⁰ *Mon.* II, iii, 108-9 (Moore).

his sister's and his city's shame;²¹ and finally, the true Roman matrons—Lucrezia, Julia, Martia, Cornelia—who may well typify the four virtues, and form, as it were, the moral *spectrum* of the light of the stronghold of Reason.

Now towards this light the five ancient poets lead Dante, and make him a sixth of their "school." The teaching of their school is in the

"altissimo canto

Che sopra gli altri com' aquila vola."

They sing Rome, whose emblem is the Eagle. Naturally, their "highest song" "flies like an eagle," because it flies *with* the Eagle—of Rome. They are the prophets of the Roman Empire.

The word 'prophets' is no mere rhetorical figure. Since Rome is Christ's foreordained kingdom, its history—like that of Jerusalem, chosen kingdom under the Old Dispensation—must have been providentially guided. "Most efficacious signs" of such providential guidance converted Dante to belief that the Empire received its sanction, not through the Church—which was established long after,—but direct from God. This was the very corner-stone of his political faith. Confession of this conversion opens the second book of his *De Monarchia*, which is the statement and proof of his political faith, and the rest of that book is a presentment of those "efficacissima signa."²²

The facts of Rome's story that Dante presents as "signs" or evidences of providential intervention he takes virtually all from five writers, three poets—Virgil, Ovid and Lucan, and two prose-writers—Livy and Cicero. From Virgil, whom he calls "our divine poet," he takes by far most of all. Moreover, he finds in the words of the author of the *Aeneid* that "consonance" with the prophets and apostles of Christ which Statius had found in the Fourth Eclogue. Thus Virgil may be said to have converted him to faith in the divine right of Christ's temporal empire of Rome, even as Virgil had converted Statius to faith

²¹ Contrast is implied with the other Brutus who striking at Caesar, struck at the divinely ordained Emperor, and therefore, as a supreme traitor, dangles from the mouth of the arch-traitor, Lucifer. *Inf.* xxxiv, 65.

²² Justinian's account of the flight of the Eagle in *Par.* vi is a poetic version of the same argument.

in the divinity of Christ.²³ Statius instances a single crucial prophecy of the Eclogue. Similarly, it might be possible to illustrate the consonance of a single, but fundamental, prophecy²⁴ of the *Aeneid* with Holy Scripture. The manner of peace to be imposed by the Romans as world-rulers is

"Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos";

and such is the injunction of the Prince of Peace.²⁵ It had been affirmed by His prophets,²⁶ and was repeated by His Mother,²⁷ by the Apostle of Hope,²⁸ by the Founder of the Church.²⁹

Three of the five writers converting Dante by their "signs" in the *De Monarchia* are three of the five leading him to the light in Limbo, but in place of the prose Livy and Cicero, historian and philosopher, are the poets Homer and Horace, narrator of the Trojan War and the "satirist." Reason for the substitution is patent. Livy and Cicero by "signs" helped convert him to the true faith in respect to the Roman Empire, to belief in the Roman Eagle as the "Bird of God."³⁰ The five poets did this also, but in addition made him a sixth poet of Rome, a singer of the Eagle. They are his masters and authors—*autori* by both derivations, namely, poetic models and trustworthy authorities.³¹ If Virgil is more especially his "maestro" and "autore,"³² yet Virgil himself ascribes his guidance to his "school."³³

In chapter nine of the second book of the *De Monarchia* Dante conceives a trial by combat between five contestants for world-supremacy—Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Macedonians and Romans. Victory was adjudged by Providence to the Romans. As evidence he cites Virgil and Lucan, and shows their testimony consonant with Christian Boethius and Luke.

²³ *Purg.* xxii, 64 ff.

²⁴ vi, 853—represented as a prophecy of Anchises. Dante cites the passage to prove the competence of the Romans to rule—*Mon.* II, vii.

²⁵ *Matt.* xxiii, 12.

²⁶ E.g., *I Sam.* ii, 8; *Dan.* iv, 37; *Isa.* 11-12.

²⁷ *Luke* i, 52.

²⁸ *James*, iv, 6.

²⁹ *I Peter*, v, 5-6.

³⁰ *Par.* vi, 4.

³¹ Cf. *Conv.* IV, vi, 14-49.

³² *Inf.* i, 85.

³³ *Purg.* xxi, 33.

He quotes Virgil:

"Certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,
Hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucrici,
Qui mare, qui terras omni ditione tenerent."³⁴

And Lucan:

"Dividitur ferro regnum, populique potentis
Quae mare, quae terras, quae totum possidet orbem
Non cepit duos."³⁵

Virgil stresses the fact that Rome is new Troy; hence for it to be, old Troy had to cease to be. Rome's own story therefore begins in Troy. Lucan's words, which epitomize his *Pharsalia*, conceives the civil war which ended with the establishment of the Empire, as a duel between two men, Julius Caesar and Pompey. "And what is acquired by duel," affirms Dante, "is by right acquired."³⁶ In fact, Rome's supremacy was acquired by three grand duels. If Caesar's victory over Pompey made the Empire actual, Aeneas's victory over Turnus made it possible.³⁷ But the prior victory of Achilles over Hector, as said, made possible the duel between Aeneas and Turnus. Also, there is a curious parallelism between the two duels. Achilles killed Hector only to avenge his friend Patrocles; Aeneas killed Turnus only to avenge his friend Pallas.³⁸

Now the three victories—of Achilles, of Aeneas, of Caesar—are the themes, respectively, of the *Iliad*, of the *Aeneid*, of the *Pharsalia*. As presenting the merited yet providential destruction of "proud Ilion," Homer appears with avenging sword in hand.³⁹ The three epics, then, are as wholes "most efficacious

³⁴ "Verily as years roll on, hence shall spring the Romans; hence the leaders, from the blood of Teucer that lives again, who shall hold sea and land in all-embracing sway." Tr. in *Temple Classics* ed. *Dante's Latin Works*. 'Hence' means 'from the Trojans.'

³⁵ "The kingdom is cleft by the sword, and the fortune of the mighty race that holds possession of the sea, the lands, ay, the whole orb, was too narrow to contain two men."

³⁶ *Mon.* II, x, 1-2.

³⁷ Cf. *Inf.* ii, 13-27.

³⁸ Cf. *Par.* vi, 35-6; *Mon.* II, xi, 7-21.

³⁹ *Inf.* iv, 86. "Il superbo Ilion" (*Inf.* i, 75) is shown justly humbled in *Purg.* xxii, 61-3. Hector himself is noble; God judges against, not him, but the cause he champions.

signs" of the divine right of the Empire finally achieved by Julius Caesar. Their authors are Dante's authorities; they lead to the light of the stronghold of Reason, of Roman Law.

But Virgil, under the form of prophecy, carries the story farther. Although his narrative ends with the victory of Aeneas, Anchises foretells the whole course of Roman history to the triumphant world-peace—the 'golden age'—established by Augustus Caesar.⁴⁰ But Anchises' last words are of despair. Marcellus, heir of Augustus and hope of the Empire, is dead. Aeneas's victory seems turned into defeat. For Virgil—at least for Dante's Virgil—his poem is a "tragedy."⁴¹ He did not realize that the Augustan peace was divinely ordered to receive the Prince of Peace, son of the true "Augusta,"⁴² and heir of Rome, celestial and terrestrial. This true heir was indeed to die, but by His death was to make Rome whole—with the completing spiritual power—and holy.

But for the pagan Roman Empire he and his "school" served and sang, Virgil's pessimism was justified; it had to die that the Holy Roman Empire might live. His Eagle traversed all the earth, but could not soar to the true Sun. His school led only to an earth-bound Castle of Nobleness, a place of sighing and spiritual frustration.⁴³ But although Virgil himself, no more than the rest of his school, could escape this limbo, yet, being made an unwitting mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit to announce the Messiah and His peace-bringing Empire, Virgil led out of the noble Castle, which was also a prison of the soul, to the Sun-lit close of nobleness on the Mount, whence, the holy virtues being received, the soul may rise to God, its desire. So it is in his allegory that Dante leaves Limbo under escort of Virgil alone of his school.

"La sesta compagnia in due si scema;
Per altra via mi mena il savio dūca,
Fuor della queta nell'aura che trema."

So far as Dante Alighieri is concerned, all this amounts to

⁴⁰ *Aen.* vi, 791 ff. Cf. *Par.* vi, 80-1.

⁴¹ *Inf.* xx, 113.

⁴² *Par.* xxxii, 119.

⁴³ Cf. *Purg.* iii, 34-44.

saying that study of Roman history in the light of the Scriptures has converted him from Guelphism, the 'school' he had followed in the "parte selvaggia"⁴⁴ of Florence. That was the "school" which Beatrice declares had made his

"via dalla divina
Distar cotanto quanto si discorda
Da terra il ciel che più alto festina."⁴⁵

For his deliverance from this school of evil, Beatrice—his Holy Spirit—had sent Virgil to him, or—actually—had sent him to Virgil's writings. By them, principally, he had been brought to see the light. But the anti-Guelph, anti-Papal policy to which Virgil and his school converted him led him from the "quiet atmosphere" of conformity into the "disturbed" one of dissent, from Florence into the outer darkness, from the "parte selvaggia"

"in parte ove non è che luca,"—

also into a world without light, for the one "sun" of Rome "has extinguished the other," and darkened itself.⁴⁶

Made sixth in the school of the Eagle, he will continue its "altissimo canto." But the Eagle he sings is now Christ's Eagle, whose wings shelter men on earth, but also bear them to heaven. At least, so Christ Himself designed. But His Eagle is now without "heir" on earth.⁴⁷

Dante thus must begin his song where Virgil—with Anchises—leaves off, in despair for the Roman Empire. But whereas Virgil's despair is final, and his song therefore a "tragedy," Dante's beginning despair is presently turned to hope; his song becomes a "comedy."

"Non sarà tutto tempo senza reda
L'aquila."⁴⁸

When the "heir"—the right Emperor—shall appear is as God may will; He is the "one Elector."⁴⁹ But meanwhile his

⁴⁴ *Inf.* vi, 65.

⁴⁵ *Purg.* xxxiii, 88-90.

⁴⁶ *Purg.* xvi, 106-9.

⁴⁷ *Purg.* xxxiii, 37-8.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Mon.* III, xvi, 102.

heritage, now in the possession of a "thief," may be recovered and held for him. The "thief" is the covetous Pope, who usurps the Emperor's temporal power and dominions. Dante sees one at hand, actually replevining these in the name of Caesar; and Dante's hope—as an individual, as a statesman, as a Christian—is in this 'Veltro,' this 'Dux,' this 'Scipio.'⁵⁰

Such is in gist the Comedy of Dante, alumnus of the School of the Eagle. His purpose is like Scipio's, who, agent of "l'alta Providenza,"

"Difese a Roma la gloria del mondo."⁵¹

Scipio defended Rome by an offensive against the Carthaginian. Dante must defend her by an offensive against the *new* 'Carthaginian,' the covetous Papacy and its Guelph supporters—

"la fuia

Con quel gigante che con lei delinque."⁵²

Dante's own offensive must of needs be verbal; and a verbal offensive against evil is *satire*. And for instruction in that kind Dante went to its master in the school of the Eagle—"Orazio satiro."⁵³ He calls the Horace of the *Ars Poetica* "Magister noster."⁵⁴ In that work Horace calls himself "satyrorum scriptor," and urges for such a mixed style. This would at least fit Dante's practice in the Comedy. In method also of attack, Dante's satire jibes with Horace's actual Satires. In each vices are attacked, not abstractly or by personified abstractions, but by real persons typifying them.⁵⁵ Also, the special target of the attack of each is the vice of *cupidity*. This is natural, for cupidity—the lust of having—is the root of all evil, and enemy of the Roman State.

It is commonly asserted, indeed, that Dante knew only the *Ars Poetica*. The only ground for this assertion is the dubious

⁵⁰ *Inf.* i, 94-111; *Purg.* xxxiii, 31-45; *Par.* xxvii, 55-63.

⁵¹ *Par.* xxvii, 62.

⁵² *Purg.* xxxiii, 44-5.

⁵³ Dante means *satirist*, not *moralist*—as e.g. Paget Toynbee would translate *satiro* (*Concise Dante Dictionary*, s.n.): for presently (*Inf.* iv, 141) he calls Seneca *morale*.

⁵⁴ *Volg. El.* II, iv, 33-4 (Moore).

⁵⁵ Dante also presents symbolic beasts, but these are metamorphosed real persons. See below, in connection with Ovid.

argument *ex silentio*. It seems strange he should not have read more of one he calls "Master" in poetic art, and adduces as "satirist" leading him to the light. However, he at least knew the censor of Roman life as quoted extensively by other writers. It is certain that he had read the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, who taught him "come l'uom s'eterna," and one long chapter of that work is nothing but a *catena* of excerpts from ancient moralists, including importantly Horace.⁵⁶ In his long sermon against riches in the *Convivio*, Dante cites Horace among others against the "false harlots," worldly goods.⁵⁷ Brunetto quotes Horace: "Li uns jors reclost l'autre, et la nouvele lune court tozjors a son definement. Por ce ne dois tu avois esperance es mortels choses; car li uns ans tolt l'autre, et une hore fait perdre tot le jor." The thesis of *Convivio* IV is that true Nobility is Virtue. And Brunetto: "La droite noblece dit Oraces que ele est vertus seulement"; and again: "Oraces dit apertement que noblesce ne vient mie par avoir; la ou il dit: Ja soit ce que tu ailles orgueilleusement par ton avoir, Fortune ne muet pas pas gentillesce; car se un poz de terre estoit tout covers d'or, je por ce ne remaint que il ne fust de boe."⁵⁸ Reading these Horatian *dicta*, Dante would recognize that the Roman "satirist" was attacking the same root-vice as he himself was thirteen hundred years later, when for the lack of moral and spiritual guidance from Rome,—

"in terra non è chi governi,"—

Cupidity is drowning mankind.⁵⁹ And he would have learned of Horace from many other writers. Thomas Aquinas himself, for instance, quotes him against the false fortitude of the covetous, "Avarorum fortitudo," driven by which they

"Per mare pauperiem fugiunt, per saxa, per ignes";

and he credits the quotation to St. Augustine.⁶⁰

Naturally, these moral precepts—premisses of Horatian

⁵⁶ Liv. II, pt. ii—*Les enseignemens des Vices et des Vertus*.

⁵⁷ IV, xii, 83 (Moore). Cf. *Purg.* xxxi, 34 ff.

⁵⁸ Reading this *dictum*, Dante could hardly fail to be reminded of that of his master, Guinicelli's, in his famous Canzone:

"Fere lo sole il fango tutto'l giorno,
Vile riman . . ."

⁵⁹ *Par.* xxvii, 121-41.

⁶⁰ *Summa Theol.* II-II, xxiii, 7.

satire—do not reveal the manner of that satire; but this manner appears in the Epistle to the Pisos itself. But if the indebtedness of Dante to Horace the Satirist is more or less indeterminate,—at least on present *data*,—to the remaining Master of the school of the Five, his indebtedness is embarrassing for its evident abundance and complexity. I think, however, that Ovid's most important contribution to Dante as poet and philosopher is the principle of *metamorphosis*—or *transmutation*—itself.⁶¹

Ovid announces his theme:

"In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
corpora; di, coeptis (nam vos mutastis et illas)
adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi
ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen!"⁶²

The processes of all nature and of man are conceived as a series of transmutations effected by the gods, celestial or infernal.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, like all the major poems of antiquity, was supposed in the Middle Ages to be an allegory.⁶³ His opening words might well be taken to imply an allegorized world-history to the "present time," i.e., the time of Augustus. And this implication would be supported by the last words of the poem, which assert the perpetuity of the Roman Empire. Such an idea would certainly be congenial to Dante, and one aspect of his own multiple allegory does adumbrate certain crucial stages of world-history.

Dante's conception of world-history is based on the principal of "cyclical regeneration," i.e., a periodically partial, and finally perfect, return to first conditions. Such a cycle is indicated in his rendering of the words of Virgil's Eclogue:

⁶¹ Dante Latinizes Ovid's title into *De rerum transmutatione*—*Mon.* II, viii, 82-85. The word, in verb and adjective form, occurs twenty-one times in the Comedy.

⁶² I, 1-4. "My mind is bent to tell of bodies changed into new forms. Ye gods, for you yourselves have wrought the changes, breathe on these my undertakings, and bring down my song in unbroken strains from the world's very beginning even unto the present time." Tr. F. J. Miller in Loeb Classics.

⁶³ Medieval interpretations of Ovid's supposed allegory were numerous. One—a very crude one—was made by Dante's correspondent, Giovanni del Virgilio. Cf. P. H. Wicksteed-E. G. Gardner, *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio* (London, 1902), Appendix I.

"Secol si rinnova;
Torna giustizia, e primo tempo umano,
E progenie discende dal ciel nova."⁶⁴

"The first time of man" was the Golden Age; Virgil announces its return under the "wondrous Boy." In the *Aeneid*, he credited Augustus himself with bringing it back.⁶⁵ But Matilda identifies the classic "Golden Age" with the Scriptural "Eden."⁶⁶ That "first state of man" Christ brought back by atoning for the first man's sin.

The reverse of the cycle is the return of Cupidity, which ruined Eden,⁶⁷ and is ruining Eden rewon for man by Christ. Cause of this new cupidity was Constantine's rending of the Tree of Empire, which made the "first rich father," the Pope, covetous. So, in principle Constantine repeats Adam's sin.⁶⁸

Dante sums the typical effects of cupidity:

"Fede ed innocenza son reperte
Solo nei parvoletti; poi ciascuna
Pria fugge che le guance sien coperte.
Tale, balbuziando ancor, digiuna,
Che poi divora (con lingua sciolta)
Qualunque cibo per qualunque luna;
E tal balbuziando ama ed ascolta
La madre sua, che, con loquela intera,
Disira poi di vederla sepolta."⁶⁹

Ovid adduces interestingly analogous instances:

"Vivitur ex rapto: non hospes ab hospite tutus,
non socer a genero, fratrum quoque gratia rara est;
inminet exitio vir coniugis, illa mariti,
lurida terribilis miscent aconita novercae,
filius ante diem patrios inquit in annos."⁷⁰

⁶⁴ *Purg.* xxii, 70-2.

⁶⁵ *vi*, 789 ff.

⁶⁶ *Purg.* xxviii, 136-48.

⁶⁷ Dante's Adam declares his guilt to have "il trapassar del segno"—inordinateness of desire, which is cupidity. Cf. *Par.* vii, 97-100.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Purg.* xxxiii, 55 ff.

⁶⁹ *Par.* xxvii, 127-35.

⁷⁰ *Met.* i, 144-8. "Men lived on plunder. Guest was not safe from host, nor father-in-law from son-in-law; even among brothers 'twas rare to find affection. The husband longed for the death of his wife, she of her husband; murderous stepmothers brewed deadly poisons, and sons inquired into their fathers' years before the time."

This impious folk was shaped by Earth from the blood of the Giants who rebelled against Jove. Their King, Lycaon, is for his cupidity, "*amor sceleratus habendi*," turned into a wolf.⁷¹ It is at least an interesting coincidence that the present Ruler—spiritual by right, but also temporal by usurpation—who is responsible for the corruption of his folk, is by Dante represented as a "she-wolf," and that the folk "delinquent" with him is called, collectively, a "giant."⁷²

Dante concludes his arraignment of cupidity:

"Così si fa la pelle bianca nera—
Nel primo aspetto—della bella figlia
Di quei ch'apporta mane e lascia sera."⁷³

Darkened is the once white skin of the daughter of the sun. The allegory here—as by definition always in the Comedy⁷⁴—is multiple. The 'daughter of the Sun' may mean 'humanity' or 'l'umana famiglia.'⁷⁵ But the 'filia Solis' certainly is—by general intention—Circe,⁷⁶ the enchantress, "antica strega,"⁷⁷ who turns men into beasts,⁷⁸—and as signifying especially cupidity,—into wolves.

Circe's witch-brew is of herbs and flowers gathered under the Moon, Hecate.⁷⁹ It is a special "flower," *fiore*—the *fiorino*, or florin, of Florence—that "has made a wolf of the shepherd."⁸⁰

Circe was also a werewolf, "*versipellis*," turning herself into a wolf, her white skin turning dark. So the covetous Chief

⁷¹ *Met.* i, 232-9. Lycaon's crime is associated with the murder of Caesar—Ib. 199-201.

⁷² *Purg.* xxxiii, 44-5. As "thief" of Caesar's patrimony, the Pope is here called "fuia," but he is also presented in *Inf.* i as the *lupa* of cupidity.

⁷³ *Par.* xxvii, 136-8.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Epis.* x, 7. Cf. also *The Daughter of the Sun* by the present writer in ROMANIC REVIEW, XVI, 330 ff. (1925).

To "cupidity," says Aquinas (*De delectione Dei et proximi*, cap. xvii), "opponitur caritas, ut album nigro."

⁷⁵ Cf. C. H. Grandgent, note *ad loc.*

⁷⁶ She is so designated by both Ovid and Virgil.

⁷⁷ *Purg.* xix, 58.

⁷⁸ A large part of *Met.* xiv is given to an account of her enchantments, including that of Ulysses' companions.

⁷⁹ *Met.* xiv, 43-4, 266-70. Hence, perhaps, the baleful implication of *Par.* xxvii, 132—"Qualunque cibo per qualunque luna."

⁸⁰ *Par.* ix, 127-32.

Shepherd, self-changed into a wolf, is a Circe, changing also others.

Cupidity is "the root of all sins."⁸¹ Circe turns men into all manner of beasts. She has turned the inhabitants of the Val d'Arno into swine, curs, wolves, foxes.⁸² In Hell are seen her changelings: the gluttonous Cerberus's howling dogs; the greedy wolf-pack of Plutus; the wrathful swine in their mire; the violent bull-men of the Minotaur; the man-faced scorpions of fraudulent Geryon; thieves turned serpents; traitors, devils; and the one-time Angel, "uccel di Dio," a bat.

Dante, protagonist of the action, declares that

"di mia natura
Trasmutabile son per tutte guise."⁸³

The range of transmutation in nature is from lowest beast to highest angel.⁸⁴ Figuratively speaking, Dante passes from lowest to highest, from almost becoming one of Circe's changelings in Hell to being momentarily, and in promise, one with the Angels in Paradise. He may say:

"Two loves I have of comfort and despair, . . .
The better angel is a woman fair,
The worser spirit a woman colour'd ill,"—

radiant Beatrice and the "daughter of the Sun" self-darkened. Subjectively, his black angel is Cupidity, inordinate desire of "things present with their false pleasure,"⁸⁵ enticements of this world, bestializing enchantments of the "antica strega," the Siren, Circe.⁸⁶ Circe's favorite witch-brew is, as said, of the "maledetto fiore" of *Fiorenza*, Satan's city—and Dante's. As one in and of that "parte selvaggia"—while in Florence and of

⁸¹ Aquinas, S.T. I-II, lxxxiv, 1.

⁸² *Purg.* xiv, 40 ff.

⁸³ *Par.* v, 98-99.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Conv.* III, vii, 65-88.

⁸⁵ *Purg.* xxxi, 34-6.

⁸⁶ *Ib.* 45. The "Siren" "sola si piagne" on the three last ledges of the Mount (*Purg.* xix, 59-60). There are "bewailed" the fleshly vices, her three siren daughters. In *Epis.* v, 59-60 (Moore) he says: "Nec seducat alludens cupiditas, more Sirenum." Avarice is a specific form of Cupidity (Aquinas, S.T. I-II, lxxxiv, 1).

That Circe is intended by the Siren who "turned Ulysses from his way" is further supported by Ulysses' own narrative in *Inf.* xxvi, 90-3.

the Guelph *party*—he had culled that “flower”—the *florin*—for the Pope, the werwolf, or man-wolf, of cupidity. He was one among the “wolves,”⁸⁷ though we may agree that his temptation of cupidity was not money,—the *fiore* as florin,—but satisfaction of ambition, lust of fame and honor.⁸⁸

From this enchantment of the Wolf and of wolfishness Beatrice, through Virgil, rescued him,—led him out of the “parte selvaggia” to become a “parte per se stessa,”⁸⁹

“E di Fiorenza in popol giusto e sano,”⁹⁰

to a Florence to be under right guidance of Emperor and Pope.

Circe's power is through cupidity, which, as Aquinas says, is “poison” to charity, its opposite.⁹¹ She is the enemy of Beatrice, and villain of Dante's comedy, as Beatrice, inspiring him to charity, is its heroine. As Circe dehumanizes him, Beatrice “transhumanizes” him. The process may be called metabolic, conformable to the adage: “Mann ist was er isst.” As Circe feeds her “accursed flower,” Beatrice does her “bread of angels,” or—for exact contrast—

“fioretti del melo

Che del suo pomo gli Angeli fa ghiotti.”⁹²

Or, by bolder figure, his eyes swallow Beatrice's image aflame with the Holy Spirit, and his heart, assimilating it, flames likewise.⁹³ *Per contra*, had his eyes pastured on Medusa,—Cupidity as the root of the blacker sins of malice, Circe of the City of Dis,—he would have changed *finally* to stone, impervious to Beatrice's light of charity.⁹⁴

The chariot of the Church, which should—like Elijah's—carry men to heaven, has ‘swallowed’ the Eagle's plumes—

⁸⁷ *Par.* xxv, 5-6. He may have been a “lamb” among wolves at first and later, but *while* he conformed to the “party” he was *ipso facto* one of them.

⁸⁸ Cf. Aquinas, *S.T.* II-II, cxxxi. He acknowledges this sin—*Purg.* xi, 118-9.

⁸⁹ *Par.* xvii, 69.

⁹⁰ *Par.* xxxi, 39.

⁹¹ *S.T.* II-II, xxiv, 10, ad 2. Cf. *Par.* xv, 1-3.

⁹² *Purg.* xxxii, 73-4.

⁹³ *Par.* xxvi, 10 ff. She is likened to Ananias, who conferred the Holy Spirit upon Saul.

⁹⁴ *Inf.* ix, 52 ff. and *Purg.* xxxiii, 67-75—where he is declared temporarily so ‘stonified,’ *impietrato*,—as adherent of the false *Pietro*, perhaps.

Caesar's rights, and consequently has been changed into a monster, upon which is seated, in place of Beatrice before, a Harlot, a *puttana*.⁹⁵ The Holy Spirit, or spirit of charity, by which the Church should be guided and guide, has been dispossessed by Circe, the spirit of cupidity. Ovid's Circe is lustful; she is a wolf-woman, a *lupa*, and in Italian *lupa* and *puttana* are synonyms. And St. Augustine: "Si praevaluerit concupiscentiae cupiditas, expellitur caritas."⁹⁶ But though expelled from the Church, the Holy Spirit enters, as said, with Beatrice's image, into Dante. He is saved, by exception,⁹⁷ without the Church to guide.

As Circe was turning Dante into a wolf, Beatrice's final transmutation of him is into an eagle, bird which can look into the Sun.⁹⁸ She "feathers him for the lofty flight,"⁹⁹ and, feeding his eyes on the ever-brightening 'sun'¹⁰⁰ of her beauty, strengthens them to look at last upon the "Sun of the Angels."¹⁰¹ Then, the first of her—and Christ's—"commandments"¹⁰² fulfilled in charity towards God,¹⁰³ he will fulfil the second—charity towards neighbor,

"in pro del mondo che mal vive."¹⁰⁴

The Eagle of charity calls to the Eagle of Rome, now borne aloft by the *arms*—armed force and armorial bearings—of Can Grande *della Scala*—"che porta il santo uccello."¹⁰⁵ Having Beatrice's power through charity of transmutation, he will change the hunting Dog (*cane*), or *Veltro*, enemy of the Wolf, into such an Eagle as Scipio was, when his "talons"

"a più alto leon trasser lo vello,"¹⁰⁶

⁹⁵ *Purg.* xxxii, 124 ff.

⁹⁶ Quoted by Aquinas in *De Delect. Dei et prox.*, cap. 17.

⁹⁷ Cf. *Mon.* III, xvi, 82-4 (Moore).

⁹⁸ Cf. *Par.* i, 46-54.

⁹⁹ *Par.* xv, 54.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Par.* iii, 1.

¹⁰¹ This strengthening is completed in *Par.* xxxiii, 52-57.

¹⁰² *Purg.* xxxii, 107.

¹⁰³ *Par.* xxxiii, 143-5.

¹⁰⁴ *Purg.* xxxii, 103.

¹⁰⁵ *Par.* xvii, 72. In vv. 88-93, Cacciaguida, who is his Anchises (*Par.* xv, 25-7), who is actually Virgil, prophet of the Empire, sends him to Can, who will achieve unbelievable things.

¹⁰⁶ *Par.* vi, 107-8. Cf. *Par.* xxvii, 61-6.

the lion, that is, of Carthage. For Dante figures the wolfish Papacy, enemy of true Rome, as the 'Carthaginian.'¹⁰⁷

The principle of Ovidian metamorphosis so abundantly illustrated in the person of the protagonist of the action is applied also in the settings. I shall illustrate only briefly.

The *selva oscura* changes, by elimination of cupidity, into the *prato di fresca verdura*, lighted from the Castle of Reason,¹⁰⁸ but shut off from the Sun. Given the Sun's light—Christ's revelation—the *selva oscura e selvaggia* becomes the *divina foresta*, where instead of wild beasts there are sweet birds.¹⁰⁹ Its trees temper for mortal eyes the light of the sun, as the self-revelation of God in the Scriptures is given under "occultation of figures."¹¹⁰ Mortal vision strengthened to immortal, the *divina foresta* becomes the

"bel giardino
Che sotto i raggi di Cristo s'infiora,"¹¹¹

of roses and lilies.

The final setting—the single white Rose, whose petals are the seats of the blest, itself concludes a line of transmutations. It is the rounding out of the River of Light,¹¹² which is grace. And the River of Light, or grace, is the exaltation of the stream, which, flowing in two opposite directions, is called Lethe and Eunoe; for by the water of contrition we are exalted to grace. Tears from the wound of sin, penitent, form Lethe,—impenitent, the rivers of hell,¹¹³ which are transmuted into various kinds. Styx thickens into a marsh; Phlegethon turns boiling blood. And Cocytus lake, formed by the infernal rivers, is turned to ice by the fanning of Lucifer's bat-wings.

Finally, I may mention the ingenious diagrammatic transmutation in *Paradise* xviii of the text of princely Justice into the M of Monarchy, and this into the Lily of the separate Na-

¹⁰⁷ *Epis.* viii, § 10.

¹⁰⁸ *Inf.* i, 2 and iv, 111. It may be coincidence that two of the three rhymes in the two passages are identical. Dante at times manifestly so binds together mutually relevant passages.

¹⁰⁹ *Purg.* xxviii, 1 ff.

¹¹⁰ Aquinas, *S.T.* I, i, 9, ad 3. Cf. *Par.* iv, 40-8.

¹¹¹ *Par.* xxiii, 71-2.

¹¹² *Par.* xxx, 89-90.

¹¹³ *Inf.* xiv, 112 ff.

tion, and this into the Eagle of the one Roman Empire. Thus the spirits of heaven itself reaffirm the principle of Dante's political faith.

Now I do not mean to imply that Ovid alone gave model or suggestion to Dante in this matter of transmutation. On the contrary, the writings of the churchmen are full of it. I need but mention their central doctrine of Transubstantiation alone. St. Bonaventure, spokesman in the heaven of the Sun, finds in the Eucharist four progressive 'conversions,' or transmutations.¹¹⁴ First, of "man into stone, being hardened in sin." (Dante was *impietrato*.) Second conversion is of that "stone into water": "the hardened heart is dissolved by contrition into the water of tears." (Dante, contrite, pays his "scot of tears.")¹¹⁵ "The Lord strikes the stony heart twice: the first time externally, by infirmity or damaged fortunes or loss of dear ones; the second time, internally, by the fear of hell." (Dante suffered both strokes.) The third conversion is of "water into wine": "contrition is turned into love, tears of fear into wine of love." (After Lethe, Eunoe.) The fourth conversion is of "wine into blood"—blood of Christ. Drinking it, we become members of His body. (Drinking of the river of light, the spirits become members of the Rose.)

I do not attach any significance to this parallel other than as a sample of symbolic imagery occurring on page after page of Church writers, and often anticipating Dante's. The point is, not that the pagan poets differ from Christian teachers, but that the two 'schools' agree—at least in that the former is an "ombrifero prefazio" of the latter. Especially, by that "consonance" the Eagle of Rome is proved to be "the Bird of God"—from the nest.

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¹¹⁴ *Serm. Domen. 1 post Oct. Epiph. iii* (ed. Peltier, XIII, 88 ff.).

¹¹⁵ *Purg. xxx, 142-5.*

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF PIERRE BAYLE

I. Two Letters to his Mother

LETTERS of Pierre Bayle to his mother, Jeanne de Bruguières, are rare. In the extensive correspondence with his family published in the eighteenth century, only two appear, sent on February 1, 1675, and on April 16, 1675.¹ After this date the correspondence ceases because Bayle's mother died shortly before June 14 of that year.² From the paucity of these letters, historians have made uncharitable surmisals not only about Bayle's love for his mother, but even about her intellectual influence upon her illustrious son. Arsène Deschamps, in *La Genèse du Scepticisme érudit chez Bayle*,³ states:

"Sa mère, Jeanne de Bruguière, d'une des plus anciennes familles du pays, ne paraît pas avoir exercé sur lui cette influence douce et bienfaisante qui est le rôle de la mère, et sous laquelle s'épanouissent, plus chauds et plus durables, les bons instincts et les croyances naïves." And further: "Nous ne possédons qu'une⁴ lettre de Bayle à sa mère. Dans celles—très-nombreuses—qu'il écrit à ses autres parents, il la nomme à peine pour lui adresser de vulgaires compliments. Si cet oubli presque complet n'a pas une cause que nous ignorons, on pourrait peut-être en conclure que Jeanne de Bruguière était une personne assez

¹ The first was published in the *Nouvelles Lettres de Mr. P. Bayle*, 1739, I, pp. 149-150; the second in the *Lettres de Mr. Bayle*, édition Des Maizeaux, 1729, I, pp. 78-80, and in the *Œuvres Diverses de Mr. Pierre Bayle*, 1737, IV, pp. 558-559.

² Cf. *Nouvelles Lettres*, 1739, I, p. 186: *Lettre XXVI*, "A Son Frère Cadet."

³ 1878, pp. 115-116, and p. 116, note 1.

⁴ Deschamps was mistaken. Two letters to his mother were published in the eighteenth century. See above.

The MS. F.F. 12771 of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains two more unpublished letters of Bayle to his mother, which we intend to print at a later occasion. They are: Letter No. 3, A Genève, 21 septembre 1671, which begins with "Il est bien juste que vous aiez de moi des marques de mon souvenir puisque vous m'avez toujours donné les plus doux témoignages d'une tendresse incomparable . . .," etc.; and Letter No. 4, A Genève, le 30 juin 1672, beginning "Il est bien juste que je renouvelle de temps en temps les protestations de mon zèle; et de ma parfaite obéissance puisque vous dites que vous êtes toujours envers moi la plus tendre et la plus affectionnée . . .," etc. The dates of these and the other letters prove that Bayle was in correspondence with his mother at least from 1671 to 1675.

insignifiante, ou que, dès l'enfance, les sentiments tendres et délicats occupèrent peu de place dans le cœur de son fils Pierre."

The publication of two hitherto unknown letters to his mother, dated July 30, 1673, and February 23, 1674, show that Bayle wrote her more frequently than has been hitherto supposed. Moreover, his expressions of love and esteem are evidently more than mere rhetoric or formulas of courtesy. As is to be expected, these letters to his mother are very different in tone and contents from those he sent to his friends and even to his father and brothers. They avoid all display of erudition, all mention of literary news as well as the involved polemics on religion and philosophy which fill so many pages of his correspondence and make his lengthy missives a running commentary on his *Dictionnaire* and his other works. But what these letters lose in intellectuality they gain in intimacy.

No doubt, letters of Bayle to his mother were far less frequent than those to other members of his family. Invariably, each one of them begins with an excuse for their rarity. On July 30, 1673, he wrote: "Je m'estimerois le plus malheureux de tous les hommes si vous donniez une sinistre interprétation à la rareté de mes lettres . . . ;" and on February 1, 1675: "Ne m'imputez pas, je vous en conjure, si je ne vous écris pas aussi souvent qu'à mon père et à mes frères. . . ." But this apparent negligence should not necessarily be ascribed to coolness on Bayle's side. Bayle's correspondence with his family was a surreptitious one. He was hiding his whereabouts from spies, since he was liable to imprisonment as a renegade. On March 19, 1669, in Toulouse, he had been converted to Catholicism, but on May 29 of the following year he returned to Protestantism. In order to find safety, he lived outside of France, in Geneva, but on May 29, 1674, he reentered France and stayed at Rouen and at Paris. From the moment that he became reconverted to Protestantism, he was anxious to protect his family against the suspicion of being accomplices, which in fact they were. The precariousness of his correspondence explains that Bayle received, even from his father, only four letters in four years, from 1670-1674.⁵ Moreover, he had to write in general terms and omit all ex-

⁵ Cf. Letter, September 19, 1674, in *Nouvelles Lettres*, 1739, I, pp. 111-113.

pressions of endearment, except when a letter could be sent by a very trusty friend. Sometimes he would omit even his signature, the date and the place of origin. Now, in the letter of March 15, 1675, to his father,⁶ he explained that he preferred to write not so frequently to his mother, rather than to send her such apparently cool and impersonal letters:

"... La nouvelle de la maladie de ma très-chère Mère m'a presque plongé dans la plus vive douleur. Je m'étois donné l'honneur de lui écrire avant que de l'avoir sçu, et je lui écrirais plus souvent que je ne fais, sans que je tache d'écrire en termes si généraux qu'on ne puisse deviner ce que je vous suis, ni où je suis. C'est pour cela que je m'abstiens des termes de respect, de tendresse et de soumission. C'est encore pour cela que je ne mets point la date ni le lieu etc. Je vous prie d'en faire de même de votre côté. Or si j'écrivois à ma bonne Mère, la tendresse de mes expressions me déclareroit infailliblement. Je prie le bon Dieu qu'il la fortifie et nous la conserve de longues années en toute santé et prospérité, et vous aussi, mon très-honoré Père."

His delicacy towards his mother is substantiated not only by the tender and respectful tone of his letters to her. When he complained of having received but very few letters from his family in several years, so that he felt neglected, he went to great pains to assure his mother that he did not imply her in any way: "... Je vous supplie très-humblement de ne mettre point sur votre compte, si j'ai quelquefois témoigné reconnoître qu'on me négligeoit."⁷ And he explains:

"Je suis obligé de joindre tant de petites plaintes et de petits reproches aux assurances de mon respect, qu'il faut par cette raison m'adresser à un autre qu'à vous, car sachant la délicatesse de votre amitié et la tendresse incomparable que vous avez pour moi, comment pourrois-je me résoudre à rien dire en lui écrivant, qui sentit le murmure ou la plainte? Je veux, ma très-bonne mère, que vous aiez les protestations de mon obéissance et de mon affection respectueuse, sans aucun mélange de chagrin."⁸

On the other hand, one of the earliest known letters of Bayle to his mother, that of July 30, 1673, proves that she had asked

⁶ *Nouvelles Lettres*, 1739, I, pp. 177-180.

⁷ Letter of February 1, 1675, in *Nouvelles Lettres*, I, p. 149.

⁸ *Nouvelles Lettres*, 1739, I, p. 149.

him to have his portrait painted, and to have it sent her as a consolation during his enforced absence. Moreover, she sent him money, since he requests her: "Je vous demande . . . un peu d'empressement pour me faire toucher la somme que je demande." All of this shows that there was no misunderstanding or coolness between the mother and the son.

"A sa Mère.⁹

[A Copet] le 30. Juillet, 1673.

"Je ne vous écris que fort rarement, encore que je pense sans cesse à vous. C'est que j'ay une si grande confiance en la tendresse de votre amitié que je m'assure que vous me la conserverez constamment—quelque peu souvent que je vous assure de mon respect et de mon obéissance. Je m'estimerois le plus malheureux de tous les hommes si vous donniez une sinistre interprétation à la rareté de mes lettres, car comme je ne cède à personne en ardeur d'amitié et de respect pour votre personne, je souhaite aussi que vous demeuriez persuadée que je suis en cette juste et légitime disposition à votre égard. Je fais mille vœux pour votre santé priant Dieu de vous fortifier de plus en plus et de vous combler de ses plus précieuses bénédictions spirituelles et temporelles, couronnant votre piété de l'effet des promesses de la vie présente et de celle qui est à venir, lesquelles elle a selon le témoignage de l'Ecriture. Je suis avec un très profond respect votre plus humble et obéissant serviteur, etc.

"Je crains qu'au départ de celui qui se charge de cette lettre le portrait que vous désirez ne soit pas séché, sans quoi il seroit inutile de l'envoyer, puis qu'il l'effaceroit entièrement. Si cela est, je le renvoyray à la première bonne occasion. Je vous demande au nom de votre tendre affection un peu d'empressement pour me faire toucher la somme que je demande. Je sais que vos soins valent beaucoup et j'ay éprouvé leur efficace assez de fois pour en être bien seur. Je me remets aussi sur vous de tous les baisemains qu'il conviendra faire à tous ceux qui seront de la qualité requise.

"Le Dimanche 30. Juillet, 1673

"J'avois promis quelques nouvelles du siège de Mastrich mais ayant considéré que cette prise est déjà vieille, je ne tiens pas ma parole."¹⁰

⁹ Published from the Columbia University *Manuscript of Letters by Bayle*.

¹⁰ Mastrich = Maastricht. On June 29, 1673, Louis XIV, with an army of 40,000 men, had forced the garrison and the inhabitants of this city to capitulate. This famous siege, directed by Vauban, lasted from June 10 to June 29.

Although Bayle speaks in this letter of his portrait as being finished, it could not have arrived safely, for several months later, on February 23, 1674, he mentions that he is going to have another portrait painted, but that, being in the country, he would wait until Spring to go to a painter in "a city." This city, which Bayle avoided naming, must be Geneva, and the country, the Château of Coppet, where he was a tutor to the children of the Count of Dhona. He left this post on May 2, 1674, and arrived on May 29 at Rouen, where his friend Basnage had found him a similar occupation.¹¹

Before his departure for France he wrote to his mother.

"A sa Mère.¹²

[A Copet] 23 février, 1674.

"Comme celuy que je croyois charger de ce paquet partit beaucoup plus tôt que je ne pensois, le portrait ne se commencea pas avant son départ. Depuis, comme je n'ay veu aucun jour de l'envoyer, j'ay différé d'y faire mettre la main, d'autant plus qu'étant à la campagne et n'ayant guère la liberté de m'absenter que pour quelque aprèsdinée, je trouve beaucoup de difficulté à le faire faire, étant nécessaire de passer chez le peintre 4 ou 5 jours d'arrache-pied si on veut qu'il s'en aquite dignement. J'espère d'être en une ville vers la fin du printemps, et alors comme j'aurai la liberté d'aller voir mon peintre aux heures qu'il faudra, j'y ferai travailler incessamment, m'estimant fort heureux qu'il vous plaise, M.T.B.E.T.H.M. [Ma Très Bonne et Très Honorée Mère] souhaiter ce mémorial de la parfaite affection, et obéissance et vénération que je conserverai toute ma vie pour vous. Le Bon Dieu veuille vous remplir de sa bénédiction et vous gratifier d'une douce, saine, et agréable vieillesse, et que je me puisse par mès très humbles respects conserver l'honneur de votre tendresse qui balancera toujours les caprices de ma fortune et les facheux accidens de ma vie."

He must have taken an unfinished sketch of his portrait with him to France, for he explained later to his younger brother: "Il n'est pas besoin que je vous dise que le portrait si long-tems attendu, étoit en chemin avant que j'eusse reçu votre dernière lettre. *Lorsque je partis de la République, il n'étoit qu'ébauché.* . . ." ¹³ But during his stay in Normandy, he must not have

¹¹ Deschamps, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹² Published from the Columbia University Manuscript of Letters by Bayle.

¹³ Letter of Paris, June 14, 1675. *Nouvelles Lettres*, 1639, I, pp. 186-189.

had the occasion to have the sketch completed, and it is only when he went to Paris on March 1, 1675, to become tutor to the children of the Count of Beringhen that he engaged a painter to finish it.¹⁴ This painter was M. Ferdinand, and Bayle wrote proudly to his father: "Je me suis servi d'un pinceau fort délicat, et d'un nom célèbre, car le père de ce M. Ferdinand qui m'a peint, a été le plus fameux Peintre de son tems. . . ." ¹⁵ In the preface to *La Mort de César*, Scudéry eulogizes M. Ferdinand the father, whose real name was Ferdinand Elle.¹⁶ He was a Flemish painter, probably born about 1585 at Malines (Mechelen), a city situated between Antwerp and Brussels. He went to Paris in his youth and died there about 1637-40. He had the title of "peintre ordinaire du Roy" and is said to have been the teacher of the famous Nicolas Poussin. His sons, Louis and Pierre, dropped the Flemish name Elle and adopted "Ferdinand" as their family name. It is Louis Ferdinand, called the Elder (1612-1689), who painted Bayle's portrait, since in a letter of May 18, 1675,¹⁷ Bayle says: "Ce portrait est de la main d'un habile peintre et qui est de l'Académie Royale de Peinture." Now, Louis Ferdinand was one of the twelve founders of this Academy, and in 1675 he was the only member of the Ferdinand family to be an academician.¹⁸ Another

¹⁴ La Monnoie in his *Histoire de M. Bayle*, 1716, pp. 4-5, states that the portrait was painted at Rouen by Mr. Ferdinand, "apellé à Roüen par un Président à Mortier," but this is in contradiction with Bayle's statement in his letter of March 15, 1675 (from Paris where he had arrived on March 1): "Je ne saurois envoïer le portrait qu'après qu'il sera sec, et qu'après avoir concerté, avec notre ami, le moyen de le faire tenir, car je ne pense pas qu'il se faille servir de la poste" (*Nouv. Lettres*, I, p. 178). This passage proves that the portrait was painted between March 1 and March 15, at Paris. La Monnoie (*op. cit.*, pp. 4-5) gives some interesting information about the disposal of the portrait: "Ce portrait a passé entre les mains de Mad. de Merignan, qui à sa mort le laissa à Mr. de Francastel, Sous-Bibliothequaire du Collège Mazarin, qui le possède encore aujourd'hui" (1716). This painting served as the example for the engraved portraits of Bayle found in the *Œuvres Diverses de Mr. Pierre Bayle*, La Haye, 1737, Vol. I, and in the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* of Bayle, Amsterdam, 1730, I, (facing p. XVII), since they represent him at the age of 28. Now Bayle was born in 1647, which brings the date to 1675.

¹⁵ *Nouvelles Lettres*, I, p. 194.

¹⁶ Bénézit, *Dict. critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, etc.*, 1913.

¹⁷ To his elder brother. *Nouvelles Lettres*, I, p. 180.

¹⁸ His son, also called Louis Ferdinand, but designated as "the Younger" (1648-1717), was also a member of the Académie Royale de Peinture, but since he was elected on June 28, 1681, he cannot be the Louis Ferdinand whom Bayle calls an academician in 1675. Cf. Bénézit, *op. cit.*

reason why he painted Bayle was probably because Ferdinand was a Protestant. In 1681 he was excluded from the Académie because of his religion, but after having renounced it, he was reinstated on January 26, 1686. Bayle testifies as to his renown as a portrait painter, and in fact he painted among many others Mme de Sévigné, Ninon de Lenclos, and the Duke of Montausier, who is said to have been the prototype of Alceste in Molière's *Le Misanthrope* (1666).¹⁹

Bayle was but a poor tutor and could not afford the high remuneration to which this fashionable painter of the nobility and the wealthy was accustomed. In a letter of May 18, 1675, he complained:

"Il s'en est rapporté à moi pour le payement, et peu informé du mérite de ces sortes de choses, je ne lui ai donné que 15 livres. Il s'en est plaint, et il a eu raison; mais j'en ai encore plus de me plaindre de ceux de qui j'ai pris conseil. Je trouve qu'en ce siècle l'honnêteté est si mal reconnuë, qu'il est bon de bien faire son marché. Par ces deux mots vous comprendrez que je ne suis guère bien à mon aise ici."²⁰

On March 15 the portrait was finally finished, but not dry, and Bayle was much distressed over the delay, since he had just learned that his mother, who had been waiting so long for this keepsake, was seriously ill.²¹ But it was difficult to dispatch it secretly, and it is only on April 16, 1675, that Bayle finally sent it, with many excuses for his delay:

"Il m'est bien doux que vous ayez tant souhaité mon Portrait: il me le seroit beaucoup [plus], si vous étiez persuadée que je suis innocent de vous l'avoir tant fait attendre. Si je ne puis avoir le vôtre, du moins vous aurai-je toujours peinte dans mon cœur, sur lequel vous avez été mise comme un cachet."²²

But before it arrived his mother had died, and in the touching letters which Bayle sent to his father and brothers, he complained:

¹⁹ Cf. Bénézit, *op. cit.*, and Paul Lacroix, *Iconographie Moliéresque*, Nos. 319, 323, 324.

²⁰ Letter to his elder brother. *Nouvelles Lettres*, I, pp. 180-181.

²¹ *Nouvelles Lettres*, I, p. 178.

²² *Lettres*, éd. Des Maizeaux, 1729, I, p. 79.

"Mon malheur n'a pas voulu permettre que le portrait que j'avois fait faire par un très-habile peintre, soit arrivé à tems."²³

One has only to read what he wrote his father at the time of this sad occurrence to see confirmed what the letters here published have demonstrated,—that there existed at no time during his exile any coolness between Bayle and his mother:²⁴

"J'ai perdu une personne qui m'aimoit extrêmement, et pour qui j'avois toute la tendresse imaginable. Elle a témoigné son amitié pour moi jusqu'au dernier soupir, et moi je n'ai pu avoir la consolation de l'assister au lit de la mort, et de m'acquitter des devoirs que la nature, la reconnoissance et la piété me demandoient." And:²⁵ "Tout ce que vous me dites du souvenir tendre qu'elle a eu de moi jusqu'à la fin, ne sert qu'à me faire déplorer davantage la grandeur de ma perte, et qu'à ajouter de nouveaux degrés à une tristesse qui seroit excessive sans cela."

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²³ *Nouvelles Lettres*, I, p. 194. An unpublished letter to his father of April 16, 1675 (in the Columbia University *Manuscript*), shows how Bayle sent it: "... Voilà un mois écoulé avant que je remette le portrait à la Messagerie de Thoulouze."

²⁴ Letter to his father, Paris, June 15, 1675. *Nouvelles Lettres*, I, p. 190.

²⁵ Letter to his younger brother, of Paris, June 14, 1675. *Nouvelles Lettres*, I, p. 186.

(To be continued)

MISCELLANEOUS

RAGNAR LODBROK'S SWAN SONG IN THE FRENCH ROMANTIC MOVEMENT¹

I

A FORTHCOMING work of mine² throws light on the curious function of "The North" in French intellectual life from 1749 to 1853, and serves as an orientation of movements toward the origin of French Romanticism proper. The French 'discovered' Northern mythology and poetry through Mallet's works of 1755 to 1756. This discovery and *Ossian* started an anti-classic Ossianic-Scandinavian movement, largely due to Mallet's failure to distinguish between Celts and Scandinavians. Macpherson furnishes a dominant note of lyric melancholy or "Weltschmerz"; Mallet supplies themes of rude heroic life, "couleur barbare." His Celtic error causes Madame de Staël to discriminate between the "classic" South and the "romantic" North, with Ossian as "the Homer of the North." In addition, certain Icelandic Odes had far-reaching influence in pointing toward the North for new poetic inspiration. This applies particularly to Ragnar's Dying Ode, in which precursors of Romanticism thought they found the typical Northern Hero. The details and ramifications of Ragnar's triumphal reception in pre-Romantic Europe are presented in the second volume of my *Northern Antiquities*, from which I also glean the following sketches.

II

According to the saga and tradition the Danish scald and viking, Ragnar Lodbrok, was captured by King Ella of Northumbria and thrown into a serpents' den, where, just before being bitten to death, he chanted a swan song in twenty-nine stanzas, known as the *Lodbrokarkvida* or the *Krákumál*. In this death song Ragnar recounts his notable deeds and expresses his joy at the splendid welcome awaiting him in Odin's Valhalla. Each stanza, except the last, begins with the famous refrain: "Hjoggum vér med hjorvi," "we hewed with the sword," translated into Latin as "pugnativimus ensibus," by the Danish runologist, Wormius, in 1636, and into French by Mallet in 1756 as "nous avons battu avec l'épée," and with slight variations by Chateaubriand, Augustin Thierry, and several other French writers down to 1853.

III

Ragnar Lodbrok's pre-Romantic reputation as a typical Viking Hero is chiefly due to his "Dying Smile" in the last two lines of the last stanza of the Ode, where the Icelandic text has, "lífs eru lidnar vánir, laejandi skalk deyja," that is, "the hours of life have expired, I go into Death with a laugh." The equally far-famed Latin translation by Wormius reads: "Vitae elapsae sunt horae, *Ridens Moriar*." Eighteenth-century Scandinavian, English, and German antiquarians repeat the *Ridens Moriar* almost identically, and it enters pre-Romantic France through Mallet's

¹ Paper read before the Romantic Studies Group of the Modern Language Association of America, at its annual meeting in Washington, D. C., December 1930.

² *Northern Antiquities in French Erudition and Literature*.

rendering in 1756: "Les heures de ma vie se sont écoulées, je mourrai en riant." Its immediate success was prepared through Mallet's previous report of an epitaph from Saxo, where the hero, Agnarus, gives up the ghost with a smile. The Icelandic text in the *Bjarka Saga* has "Hneig Agnarr nidr, hlaejandi a jord ok do sidan," that is, "Agnar drops with a laugh and then dies." Subsequent French writers forget the name of Agnar, make a king of the dying hero, and name him Biar. Nothing more gripping, according to the Count de Tressan in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* of 1777, than "this singular and energetic epitaph, *Biar fell, laughed and died*" ("Biar tomba, rit et mourut"). This incident is the direct prototype of Parny's hero, Elvin, "who was stabbed, fell, laughed and died." It is reported identically by Marchangy in the *Gaule Poétique*. It is imitated by Millevoye in his *Alfred*, also of 1815. There "the Dane laughs and dies," with a note explaining that "to die with a laugh was a sort of point d'honneur with the Danes." D'Arlincourt's Harald, from the *Charlemagne ou La Caroléide*, of 1818, exhorts his followers to die with a smile of disdain, "Méritons de Biard l'épithape immortelle: *Il tombe, rit et meurt, Scandinave fidèle*." The "precision and energy of King Biar's epitaph" were finally stressed in Pierre Victor's tragedy, *Harald ou Les Scandinaves*, of 1825, where the King of Norway incites to battle with the words, "Amis, nous sourirons, quand il faudra mourir."

IV

The Biar Legend was naturally quoted together, in most cases, with Lodbrok's identical *Ridens Moriar*, but Tressan added further interest to the theme by comparing Ragnar's death song with war-songs of "the savages of Canada." The American Indians appealed to pre-Romantic fancy. It is a tendency which prepares the way for Chateaubriand's *Atala*. It meets the popular hankering for a return to the primitive, as advocated by Rousseau. It helps to explain the favor of *Ossian* and the coincident revelation of ancient Scandinavian literature. All this results in the well-nigh universal vogue of Ragnar Lodbrok, whose savage *Ridens Moriar* intensifies another phase of the Celtic Revival: *the love of liberty*. As Macpherson's melancholy *Ossian* was lamentably lacking in this respect, Ragnar's defiant energy and utter lack of morbid sentimentality, though not of tragic melancholy, formed, with other renowned specimens of Icelandic poetry, a significant counterpoise to one-sided influence from *Ossian*. If Ragnar had the fortitude to die with a smile in spite of tortures by venomous snakes, the ever-wailing *Ossian* would be a pitiful parallel. A different type of *Primitive Man* was needed—and the Canadian Indians filled the need.

V

Two mistranslations, with resulting misconceptions, of Ragnar's Ode helped its popularity. Stanzas thirteen and fourteen of the Icelandic text contain these reflections on the carnage of battle: "vasat sem bjarta brúdi í bing hjá sér leggja," that is, "it was *not* like going to bed with a radiant maiden"; and, "vasat sem unga ekkju í öndvegi kyssa," "it was *not* like kissing a young widow in the place of honor." The Icelandic negative particle *at* (English *not*) is plain in either case. Yet Wormius left it out and thereby necessarily added to the heroic effect. Mallet followed Wormius, saying: "C'était pour moi un plaisir aussi grand que de tenir une belle fille dans mes bras." Tressan exaggerates grotesquely: "N'avais-je pas alors plus de plaisir que je n'en pourrais avoir en tenant dans mon bras la beauté la plus accomplie." A clever versification in the *Mercure Encyclopédique*, for 1797, rings out: "O combat plein de gloire! O jour plein d'allégresse! Vous valez à mes yeux la plus belle

maitresse." There are two versifications from 1813, one in the *Mercurie Étranger*, which reads: "Plus heureux que l'amant enivré des faveurs De la beauté qui lui livre ses charmes, Je contemplais le sang qui rougissait nos armes"; and one by Creuzé de Lesser, in the *Amadis de Gaule*: "Combien je préférerais les voluptés de glaive, A la plus belle fille attendrie dans mes bras." Only after 1829 do French publicists discover the facts about the mistranslation and admit that it is far less "romantic" to slay one's foe in bloody battle than to embrace one's beautiful mistress.

VI

The other and far more consequential mistranslation concerns the twenty-fifth stanza of the Ode, where the bibulous enjoyments in Valhalla are anticipated thus: "drekkum bjór af bragdi ór bjúgvíðum hausa," which correctly translated reads: "We shall soon be quaffing ale out of the crooked skull-boughs," "bjúgvíðr hausa" (skull-boughs) being an old Norse metaphor for *horns of animals used as drinking horns*. Translators and editors nevertheless followed Wormius in interpreting *hausa* as *crania* and therefore *bjúgvíðr hausa* as "the crooked widenesses of the skulls, (namely, of enemies)." Hence the insinuation was made against the ancient Scandinavians that they would *drink from the skulls of their fallen enemies!* Thus Wormius gave rise to a stubborn *poetical tradition* that forms a chapter to itself in the history of pre-Romantic ideas.

VII

Modern research confirms the part played by enemy skulls in the life of primitive peoples of Europe, including the Celts, with whom the Scandinavians were confused. We must therefore assume that the skull-incident in Ragnar's Ode has in many minds served as corroboration of current ideas of these "Celts" or "Scythians." Pelloutier's famous *Histoire des Celtes*, of 1740, had vulgarized the idea of skulls as drinking-cups before Mallet's version of Ragnar's Ode had appeared and before the latter had also adopted the indefinite term "Celtic" "as the most universal." One result of this "ethnographic medley" was to despoil the revelation of Ragnar of some of his genuine novelty, for he was, after all, a "Celt" like the other Scandinavians! Despite this delusion, the skull-incident of the Ode is presented as intrinsically curious and is recorded by about sixty French writers. Wormius and Mallet are the usual sources, but Scandinavian and German seventeenth and eighteenth-century antiquarians contributed to the misconception. So did Blair's widely circulated *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian* (1763), together with Percy's "Dying Ode of Ragnar Lodbrok," in the *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*, and the *Northern Antiquities* (1770). Pelloutier had substantiated his point about the Celtic skull-drinking with a reference to Ragnar's ancient Ode as exemplifying some of the Scandinavian "plaisirs d'une autre vie." Mallet concluded that the skull-banquet in Valhalla must be the prototype of the well-known Germanic and Scandinavian habit of drinking to the health of the guests and even perhaps, among the early Christians in the North, of drinking to the health of the Saviour, the Apostles, and the Saints! The French emigrant and tourist, Le Chevalier de La Tocnaye, pokes fun at the unconventional way of drinking beer in Valhalla, and wonders about the Swedish toast, "dricka en skål," because it means literally, "to drink a skull." He observes that this is like saying, "I wish that your cranium shall never serve as drinking-cup for your enemies, or I wish that you may have plenty of skulls to drink from." And when it comes to toasting the girls in Sweden, "dricka flickornas skål" ("drink the skull of the girls"), La Tocnaye does not know what to think. He realizes that "skål" must stand for

"santé" in French and "toast" in English, and that there are no other terms in Swedish for skull, bowl, cup. . . . His remarks suggest the correct understanding. The Icelandic *skál*, Swedish *skål*, is in reality related to English *skull*, whose literal French rendering is "crâne," cranium. The French believe that their "boire à la santé" is borrowed from the North, but whether it had to do with the romantic misconception of Ragnar's Ode, or whether it was borrowed through commercial intercourse, is impossible to determine. The comparatively recent custom among Indo-Germanic peoples of using enemy skulls as drinking vessels may in part account for the frequency in Indo-Germanic languages of names for drinking cups side by side with root-resembling terms for "head" and "skull."

VIII

However this may be, no one seemed to question Ragnar's Ode as a perfect sample of primitive poetry. But was that sort of blood-dripping story not altogether too savage, too "cannibalistic" for refined, though romantically groping minds? Pelloutier had endeavored to exonerate the ancient Celts from having been man-eaters, even if he admitted that they drank from human skulls and perhaps occasionally feasted on a fallen enemy or the body of a decrepit old relative stewed with other meats. He had argued, obviously from Montaigne's *Des Cannibales*, that eating slain enemies or dead relatives, was in reality not nearly so bad as torturing persons to death, as was done in the so-called civilized nations. He had thereby stirred up the age-old question of humanity's "golden age," and had anticipated the discussions arising from Rousseau's "nature-gospel." Mallet, a student of Pelloutier and Voltaire, takes definite stand against Rousseau, declaring ignorance and backwardness the mother of cruelty; thus finding nothing in the savage customs of ancient Scandinavia that reminds of "happiness" and "innocence" of a "golden age." Many pre-Romanticists are inconsistent in following Rousseau while hailing Mallet. La Tocnaye and Chérade-Montbron (in the so-called "Sweo-Gothic" poem, *Les Scandinaves*, of 1801) are frankly sceptical. Both knew the horrors of the Revolution and had had time to reflect. Both compare the skull-drinking feasts with the excesses of the French Revolutionary Tribunals, and agree that after having seen the cruelty of the men that call themselves "policés," they rather prefer the men called barbarians. Identical sentiments are in Nettement's *Histoire du Journal des Débats*, of 1838. Here the hall of the Revolutionary Constituent Assembly and the Convention is likened to an Olympus reminding of "fierce Odin in his bloody paradise, dispensing to his chosen ones the drink of immortality in human skulls."

IX

Unmindful of the Revolution, the versifier in the *Mercur Encyclopédique* had glorified Ragnar's reception in Valhalla as "Destin glorieux! O sort rempli d'attraits! Dans un crâne ennemi je m'enivre à long traits"! Charles Nodier had adopted the theme in his dismal *Chant funèbre au tombeau d'un chef scandinave*. The Franco-Scandinavian historian, Calleville, had pictured the ancient Danes as "ferocious, restless men, who blush at peace, who will only die on the field of battle, and whose supreme bliss consists in drinking mead from the skulls of their enemies." But he had added reassuringly, that the modern Danes actually form a "tranquil and humane people, their character having been greatly changed by the progress of the general civilization in Europe and the principles of a less martial religion." In 1809, Viollet-Duc, in the *Nouvel Art Poétique*, mocks the Ossianic fad of the day by presenting the

skull-banquet in Ossianic setting: "Peignons les fils du nord, fatigués de carnage, Près d'un chêne embrasé, dans leur palais sauvage, Et savourant la bière, au sein de leurs repas, Dans des crânes humains qu'abattirent leurs bras." The satiric author explains in a note the Scandinavian propensity for beer-drinking from the skulls of their enemies—and adds significantly: "The poetry of such a custom is felt." This remark alone reflects the popularity of Ragnar as the representative Northern Hero.

X

Mallet's and Tressan's popular theory of locating the birth of Chivalry in the North, is disputed by Creuzé de Lesser, in his *La Chevalerie* and the *Amadis de Gaule* (1812-13). He admits that women are freest in the North, but finds that Courage there is an "almost detestable" picture of "the most odious ferocity" in "this strange paradise, where the heroes slash themselves for fun, and where mead-drinking from the skulls of their enemies offers true enjoyments of cannibals." Hence the "noble valor" of French chivalry is contrasted with Ragnar's "blind rage," and the birth of Chivalry is located in Charlemagne's more temperate zone. If Lesser had only known that the "cannibalistic" enjoyments merely derived from a mistranslation!—Millevoeye's *Alfred*, of 1815, has an unholy thirst for a drink from a bloody skull, but has also a note which, for the first time in Franco-Scandinavian letters, explains the nature of the skull-story. That little or no attention was paid to that note, is evident from the fact that Hugo's hero in *Han d'Islande* drinks sea-water from the skull of his own son, and from the extravagant enthusiasm with which the young Romanticists revelled in the idea, as well as the practice, of drinking wine from human skulls, as told by Gautier in his *History of Romanticism*. Byron and the Hugo brothers led the chorus of skull-thirsty Romanticists. A reaction begins with Pierre Victor's tragedy: its reviewer declared it debasing for a refined French theatre to perform a play with a skull-drinking scene. The ensuing public discussion is significant, but it was not till 1829 that the deserving Franco-German historian Depping, delivered the philological and historical proofs of Wormius' mistranslation and the resulting misconception of ancient Scandinavia. Enlightened publicists henceforth have the correct version of Ragnar's Ode. Others, even as late as 1841, still cling to the old illusion against their better knowledge and amusingly confess themselves victims of the poetic power of the skull story. In self-defense they refer to the only two cases in Icelandic literature that support the idea of Wormius. Those are the *Atlakvida* and the *Völundarkvida*. They had been played up in an Italian version of Ragnar's Ode which appeared in Pisa in 1811, in a book called *Saggio Istorico Su Gli Scaldi*. This book had a remarkable run in France and was probably known to Victor Hugo.—I close with a quotation from Eichhoff's *Tableau de la Littérature du Nord au Moyen Age*, of 1853, which very well summarizes the popular impression of Ragnar's extraordinary death: "Cette fin, d'un pathétique sublime, couronne dignement les scènes terribles, les étranges et frappantes images dont cette ode est toute parsemée, et qui prouvent d'une manière évidente son origine antique et païenne."

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LA IMPORTANCIA RELATIVA DEL ACENTO Y DE LA SÍLABA EN LA VERSIFICACIÓN ESPAÑOLA

[A poesía recitada y la cantada son dos cosas completamente diferentes: la primera no admite la dislocación violenta del acento prosódico; la segunda, sí, pues en el canto el acento es de importancia secundaria. Los romanos distinguían muy bien un nominativo singular de la primera declinación de un ablativo de la misma por la cantidad, y lo que la cantidad era para los romanos, lo es el acento para los españoles en la poesía recitada, que de ninguna manera tolera la dislocación del acento prosódico. Tomemos por ejemplo el conocidísimo cantar:

"Si vas a Calatayud,
Pregunta por la Dolores,
Que es una chica muy guapa
Y amiga de hacer favores."

Es una estrofa recitable y cantable. Cuando se recita, no es permisible la dislocación de los acentos. Cuando se canta, sí. Si se canta con pausa en la cuarta sílaba, los acentos primarios serán los siguientes:

"Si vás a Calátayúd,
Pregúnta pór la Dolóres,
Que és una ch́ica muy guápa
Y aḿiga de hácer favóres."

Si se canta con pausa en la quinta, la dislocación de los acentos prosódicos será aun más notable:

"Si vás a Calátayúd,
Pregúnta por lá Dolóres,
Que és una ch́ica muy guápa
Y aḿiga de hácer favóres."¹

Ateniéndonos, pues, a la poesía escrita para ser recitada, pues es la única cuyo ritmo podemos estudiar con probabilidades de éxito independientemente de la música,² causa verdadero asombro la multitud de encontradas teorías que se han formulado para explicar su ritmo.

Ya Nebrija se sirve de los pies, espondeo y dáctilo, para medir los versos españoles; pero sustituye la cantidad por el acento.³ El que se sirviese de los nombres

¹ Esto mismo se ve en el siguiente cuplé popular de la conocidísima zarzuela *La Corte de Faraón*:

"Ahi vá, ahi vá,
Ay, vámonos pŕonto a Judeá," etc.

Buenos ejemplos de la dislocación del acento prosódico en la poesía antigua cantable los da Hanssen (*Miscelánea de versificación castellana*, Santiago de Chile, 1897, págs. 44-50) al hablar de las cánticas de Juan Ruiz. Véanse las siguientes estrofas:

1650 A—Quiero seguir
 A ti, flor de las flóres
B—Siempre dezír,
 Cantar de tus loóres
C—Non me partír
 De ti servír
 Mejor de las mejóres

161 A—Gran fianzá
 He yo en ti, Sennóra,
B—Mi esperanzá
 En ti es toda hóra;
C—De triblantzá
 Sin tardanzá
 Venme librar agóra.

² P. H. Ureña, en su libro *La versificación irregular castellana*, Madrid, 1920, se ha limitado casi exclusivamente al análisis de versos cantables.

³ Vid. Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, edic. González-Llubera, London, 1926, pág. 55.

espondeo y *dáctilo*, aunque fuesen acentuales y no cuantitativos, dió origen a un sin fin de confusiones en la métrica española.⁴ Luzán, por ejemplo, explica toda la poesía española por la cantidad silábica, haciendo todo lo posible por demostrar que la perciben los españoles.⁵ Como es natural, sólo los latinistas podían llegar a comprender, o imaginar que comprendían, tal sistema, pues la cantidad silábica es algo completamente desconocido al oído español. Aun en el siglo XIX hizo grandes esfuerzos Hermosilla⁶ por convencer a los españoles de la existencia de tal cantidad, que nadie veía.

Por fortuna esta teoría está completamente desacreditada gracias a Bello,⁷ a quien, sin embargo, le sirvió de base para su famoso sistema de pies acentuales.⁸ Lo que hace Bello no es nada nuevo, pues ya hemos visto que lo mismo afirman Nebrija, Rengifo y Cascales, entre otros.⁹

Bello, en realidad, no hizo más que aplicar el sistema latino a la versificación castellana, sustituyendo las sílabas largas por las acentuadas, y las breves por las no acentuadas, influido sin duda por el estudio de versificaciones extranjeras, como la inglesa y la alemana, por ejemplo.¹⁰ Y esto que le pasó a Bello, querer ver en nuestra lengua lo que no hay, le ha pasado a otros, empapados en las literaturas clásicas o en las extranjeras. Este sistema de pies métricos acentuales nos obligaría a admitir, puesto que un pie de cierta clase tiene que ser el equivalente de otro de la misma clase, en la poesía española una ingrata monotonía de que, gracias a Dios, carece.

Hay, sin embargo, una especie de verso en castellano, que se puede medir por pies, o grupos rítmicos, nombre que me parece más apropiado. Es el verso que nuestros antepasados llamaron *el verso de Arte Mayor*. A pesar de que el ritmo de este verso es tan claro, se le ha llamado anapesto, anfibraco, dáctilo, endecasílabo lesbio y endecasílabo anapéstico.¹¹ Toda esta confusión de nombres para explicar la misma cosa se debe sin duda al afán de mantener a toda costa que la poesía española es y ha sido siempre isosilábica, cosa que nadie ha probado todavía. A esto se

⁴ No es nuestro propósito escribir aquí la historia de la métrica castellana. Sólo llamaremos la atención de los lectores sobre las teorías que han sido más aceptadas.

⁵ Vid. Luzán, *Poética*, Zaragoza, 1737, págs. 243-270. Ya hemos visto que Nebrija niega que existan en español sílabas largas y breves. Lo mismo dicen Rengifo (*Arte poética*, Barcelona, 1759, pág. 13), el Pinciano (*Filosofía antigua poética*, edic. Muñoz Peña, Valladolid, 1894, págs. 280-281), y Cascales (*Tablas poéticas*, Madrid, 1779, pág. 9).

⁶ Vid. Hermosilla, *Arte de hablar en prosa y verso*, Madrid, 1826, t. II, libro I, cap. I, págs. 107-120.

⁷ Vid. Bello, *Opúsculos gramaticales*, Madrid, 1890, t. I, págs. 416-417.

⁸ Vid. Bello, *op. cit.*, págs. 153, 277, 289, 318, 417.

⁹ Este sistema de pies acentuales está todavía de moda: de él se sirven Hanssen, Ureña, Espinosa, y otros modernos. El discípulo de Bello, de la Barra, ha clasificado toda la poesía española en versos divisibles por pies (troqueos, yambos, dáctilos, anapestos y afibráquicos), según el sistema de su maestro. Vid. de la Barra, *Nuevos estudios sobre versificación castellana*, Santiago de Chile, 1891, págs. 141, 142, 143, 148, 153, 170, 339.

¹⁰ Véase lo que sobre este particular dice Benot, en de la Barra, *op. cit.*, pág. 305.

¹¹ Vid. de la Barra, *op. cit.*, págs. 317-320, 332-333; Benot, *Carta a de la Barra*, en de la Barra, *op. cit.*, págs. 291-314; *Prosodia Castellana*, t. III, págs. 65-101; Bello, *op. cit.*, pág. 277; Ureña, "El endecasílabo castellano," *Rev. de Fil. Esp.*, t. VI, pág. 155 y siguientes.

deben también los curiosos nombres de *anacrusis* y *catalexis*¹² que Hanssen aplica a los versos castellanos para mantener su jamás probado isosilabismo, asegurando que los poetas se toman "la libertad de reemplazar la sílaba inicial por una pausa."¹³ Este mismo deseo de hacer isosilábica a toda la poesía española fué la causa de que Hanssen se sirviese de los términos *sinalefa entre versos* y *compensación entre versos*.¹⁴

Por todo lo anterior vemos que la teoría del isosilabismo está muy lejos de estar de cuerpo presente, aunque debiera haberlo estado hace ya muchísimo tiempo. Esta teoría nos explica parte de la poesía culta anterior al siglo XVI, y es aplicable a casi toda la poesía culta que se escribe después de este siglo, pero no es capaz de explicar el ritmo de la poesía española puramente indígena de la edad media ni la popular de entonces ni de ahora.¹⁵

Paréceme que lo mejor de todo sería afrontar el problema tal como se nos presenta, y no tratar de ajustar la versificación española indígena a las reglas que gobiernan versificaciones extranjeras, como la francesa, la latina, la inglesa o la alemana. La verdad del caso es que en castellano, en especial antes del siglo XVI, cuando entró de lleno en España el sistema italiano, existen muchísimos versos noisosilábicos, que no se pueden *isosilabificar* a pesar de todas las ingeniosísimas teorías que para conseguirlo se han inventado. Sobran ejemplos: *el Poema del Cid*, muchos de los versos de Juan Ruiz, los romances antiguos, etc., y toda la poesía popular (refranes, recitados, coplas, etc.). Esta es la pura verdad, y en vez de temerla, debemos afrontarla valientemente tratando de llegar a comprender su verdadero ritmo sin tratar de corregir a los poetas que la escribieron.

No hay duda de que un público de habla inglesa comprende muy bien que puede haber ritmo sin contar las sílabas. Por ejemplo, son perfectamente rítmicos estos famosos versos de Tennyson:

"Break, break, break,
On thy cold gray stones, O Sea."

El contar escueta y llanamente las sílabas puede pasar en una lengua como la francesa, donde todas las sílabas tienen aproximadamente el mismo valor cuantitativo y acentual, pero no en lenguas, como la española y la inglesa, que son esencialmente acentuales. Contando sílabas tal vez se puedan escribir versos en francés, no en español. Veamos los siguientes endecasílabos:

¹² Ya Nebrija llama cataléctico al verso cuando le "falta algo." Vid. *op. cit.*, pág. 70.

¹³ Hanssen, *Notas al Poema del Cid*, Santiago de Chile, 1911, pág. 17. De su aserción se deduce por rigurosa lógica que una pausa al principio del verso equivale a una sílaba, lo que es absurdo, pues todos los versos tienen pausa al principio.

¹⁴ Vid. Hanssen, *Un himno de Juan Ruiz*, Santiago de Chile, 1899, págs. 4, 8 y 9. Sobre estos dos supuestos fenómenos ha escrito extensamente el Sr. Espinosa en cuatro números de la *ROMANIC REVIEW* (XVI, 1925, págs. 103-121; págs. 306-329; XIX, 1928, págs. 289-301; XX, 1929, págs. 44-53).

¹⁵ Ureña escribe: "Hasta fines del siglo XIV, se ha visto, el fenómeno de la fluctuación existe, salvo excepciones bien contadas, en toda la versificación española, pero con caracteres diversos y en grados distintos. Es general, eso sí: nos obliga a suponer que la irregularidad métrica estaba, como suele decirse, *en el ambiente*, en la urdimbre del mundo poético de la España medieval, y no exclusivamente en los asendreados copistas" (*Op. cit.*, págs. 33-34).

- "Dichoso el día, dichosa la hora" (Boscán, Soneto XLV).
 "Mas despues veo tanto gozar
 No es de las cosas que pueden durar" (*Id.*, Canción III).
 "Y miro aquella que muerto me tiene" (*Id.*, Soneto XX).
 "Hallo segun por do anduve perdido" (Garcilaso, Soneto I).
 "Yo acabare que me entregue sin arte" (*Ibid.*).
 "Cortaste el arbol con manos dañosas" (*Id.*, Soneto XXV).
 "A romper esto en que yo me meti" (*Id.*, Soneto XXVII).
 "Que baña en torno la noble ciudad" (Santillana, Soneto XX).
 "Soy e posee la mi voluntad" (*Id.*, Soneto XX).
 "De mortal pena, congoxa e braveza" (*Id.*, Soneto XIX).¹⁶

Lo anterior prueba que no se pueden escribir versos en español por el simple procedimiento de contar las sílabas. A esto se me responderá que es cosa que por sabida se calla, que además del número exacto de sílabas, es necesario que los versos lleven los acentos reglamentarios en su propio lugar. Todo esto es verdad, pero es el caso que hay endecasílabos (permítaseme que los llame así) perfectos de 10 y de 12 sílabas. He aquí algunos:

"La mar en medio y tierras he dexado;	11 sílabas
De quanto bien, cuytado, yo tenia,	11 "
Yendome alexando cada día,	10 "
Gentes, costumbres, lenguas he passado."	11 "

(Garcilaso, Soneto III).

"Un rato se levanta mi esperança,	11 "
Mas tan cansada de averse levantado	12 "
Torna a caer, que dexa a mal mi grado	11 "
Libre el lugar a la desconfiança.	11 "
¿Quien sufrira tan aspera mudança	11 "
Del bien al mal? ¡O coraçon cansado!	11 "
Esfuerça con la miseria de tu estado;	12 "
Que tras fortuna suele aver bonança.	11 "
Yo mesmo emprendere a fuerça de braços	11 "
Romper un monte, que otro no rompiera,	11 "
De mil inconvenientes muy espesso.	11 "
Muerte, prisiones no pueden ni embaraços	12 "
Quitarme de yr a veros, como quiera,	11 "
Desnudo espiritu o hombre en carne y hueso."	12 "

(Garcilaso, Soneto IV).

"No pierda mas, quien ha tanto querido	11 "
Bastate amor, lo que ha por mi pasado;	11 "
Valgame agora jamas aver probado	12 "
A defenderme de lo que has querido."	11 " 17

(Garcilaso, Soneto VII).

¹⁶ Los ejemplos anteriores están sacados de: Boscán, *Obras*, edic. W. I. Knapp, Madrid, 1875; Garcilaso, *Works*, edic. H. Keniston, New York, 1925; Vegue y Goldoni, *Los sonetos "al itálico modo" de Don Inigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana*, Madrid, 1911.

Es fácil encontrar endecasílabos defectuosos en los poetas que introdujeron el endecasílabo italiano en España. Los versos que cito, a pesar de tener once sílabas, son en realidad versos de *Arte Mayor* por sus acentos. Más ejemplos de esta clase los dan: Menéndez y Pelayo, *Aut. lir. cast.*, t. XIII, págs. 217-220; Ureña, "End. cast.," en *Rev. de Fil. Esp.*, VI, págs. 142 y 147; Benot, *op. cit.*, t. I, pág. 313.

¹⁷ Garcilaso, *op. cit.*

"Y ya que mis tormentos son forzados	11 sílabas
Bien que son sin fuerza consentidos,	10 "
Qué mayor alivio en mis cuidados	10 "
Que ser por vuestra causa padecidos?"	11 "
(Garcilaso. Vid. <i>Las Obras de Juan Boscán</i> , edic. W. I. Knapp, Madrid, 1875, págs. 469- 470).	

He escogido versos de Garcilaso porque es un poeta a quien no se le puede acusar de tener mal oído. Sin embargo, se pueden encontrar en cualquiera de sus contemporáneos que escribieron versos endecasílabos al estilo italiano, y aun en los modernos.¹⁸

Como vemos, pues, hay versos, aun en la poesía moderna, que tienen el mismo ritmo a pesar de no ser isosilábicos. Por lo tanto los acentos son más importantes que el número de las sílabas, para el ritmo de la poesía castellana.

Los versos de *Arte Mayor* pueden servirnos para probar que la poesía española es esencialmente acentual y no silábica.¹⁹ Tomando por base la estadística que nos ofrece Hanssen, fundada en el material suministrado por Foulché-Delbosc,²⁰ podemos

¹⁸ <i>Ex. gr.</i> : "Y hállome muy solo y no la veo."	10 sílabas
(Boscán, Canc. II).	
"La tierra sintió su íntimo seno."	10 "
(Martínez de la Rosa. Vid. Benot, <i>op. cit.</i> , t. I, pág. 358).	
"¡Oh mujer! qué imagen ilusoria	10 "
Tan pura, tan feliz, tan placentera,	11 "
Brindó el amor a mi ilusión primera!"	11 "
(Espronceda, <i>Canto a Teresa</i> , Octava XVIII).	

De la Barra (*op. cit.*, págs. 271-275) cita varios ejemplos de versos de 10 y de 12 sílabas que tienen el ritmo del endecasílabo italiano.

Bello (*op. cit.*, t. I, pág. 408) nos ofrece el siguiente:

"Tu desdén tirano me atormenta."

Este verso, como se ve, a pesar de tener sólo 10 sílabas es del ritmo del endecasílabo italiano.

¹⁹ Esto mismo puede probarse por medio de los esdrújulos. En los asonantes se ve palpablemente que el acento es el todo al final de verso: *có* vale tanto como *cómico*. Sin embargo, el primero tiene dos sílabas más que el segundo. Ureña escribe: "El verso de cuatro sílabas, fluctuando a menudo entre seis y dos," etc. (*Op. cit.*, pág. 32).

²⁰ Dice Hanssen: "Doi á continuación una estadística que se funda en el material suministrado por Foulché-Delbosc, haciendo, sin embargo, caso omiso de la cuestión del ritmo, que él trata detalladamente. Pongo á la izquierda el esquema y agrego á la derecha el número de los ejemplos que se hallan:

	Primer hemistiquio	Segundo hemistiquio
V-VV-V	1472	1976
V-VV-	85	109
V-VV-VV	33	—
-VV-V	705	95
-VV-	55	128
-VV-VV	24	—
VV-VV-V	2	64
VV-VV-	—	4 "

afirmar que en los versos de *Arte Mayor* hay hemistiquios de 4, 5, 6 y 7 sílabas, todos rítmicos y todos equivalentes, y grupos rítmicos de 2, 3 y 4 sílabas. Así, vemos que en el *Arte Mayor* son correctos los versos de 10, 11, 12, 13 y 14 sílabas:

"Certidumbre de vida un hora non avemos" (*Cancionero de Baena*, edic. P. J. Pidal, Madrid, 1851, pág. 593).

"E rruegan agora de quien eran rogados" (*Ibid.*, pág. 62).

"Alfonso, non cures pues es reparable" (*Ibid.*, pág. 73).

"Muero de fambre, señor poderoso!" (*Ibid.*, pág. 73).

"Ca lo crió el nostro señor" (*Ibid.*, pág. 316).

Esta es una verdad inconclusa, y para comprender el ritmo de los versos de *Arte Mayor* no hay que recurrir a la anacrusis ni a la catalexis ni a otros artificios por el estilo. Los españoles comprenden su ritmo y esto es todo lo que se necesita para explicar su existencia.

Lo mismo pasa con los quebrados. Y no hay dificultad alguna en comprender el ritmo de los siguientes versos:

"Si tú deseas a mí
Yo non lo sé
Pero yo deseo a ti
En buena fe."

"Este mundo bueno fué
Si bien usásemos del
Como debemos
Porque, según nuestra fe
es para ganar aquel
que atendemos."

"¿Qué se fizo el rey don Juan?
Los ynfantes de Aragon,
¿qué se fizieron?
¿Qué fué de tanto galán?
¿Qué fué de tanta ynvencion
Como truxieron?"²¹

Para comprender el ritmo de los versos anteriores no hay necesidad de recurrir a la sinalefa ni a la compensación entre versos: cosa que por lo pronto destruiría la rima, y a veces el ritmo también.²²

Hanssen, *El Arte Mayor de Juan de Mena*. Cf. Foulché-Delbosc, "Étude sur le Labyrinth de Juan de Mena," en *Rev. Hisp.*, 1902, págs. 75-138. Este artículo lo tradujo D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín: *Juan de Mena y el Arte Mayor*, Madrid, 1903.

²¹ Cf. "Junto y jondo,
Que no lo entiendo."

(Rodríguez Marín, *Cien refranes andaluces*, Sevilla, 1894).

²² Tampoco pueden explicarse estos versos por la teoría del isosilabismo diciendo que no existen los quebrados, y sí sólo versos más largos como lo demuestra el siguiente ejemplo:

"No se engañe nadie, no,
pensando que ha de durar
lo que espera
más que duró lo que vió,
pues que todo ha de pasar
por tal manera."

Si estudiamos el ritmo de los refranes, acertijos o quisicosas populares, además de lo dicho, acabaremos de convencernos de que la poesía española, tal y como la perciben los oídos de los españoles que no han recibido educación sistemática en el cuento de las sílabas, no cuenta las sílabas, y sin embargo es rítmica. Por ejemplo:

" Agosto
Frio en rostro."

" Detente, bruto,
Que primero es San Canuto."

" Abriles y caballeros
Pocos buenos."

" Haz bien
Y no cates a quién."

" Uno piensa el bayo,
El que lo ensilla, al entiende."

" ¿Qué cosa será
y es de entender
que cuanto más le quitan
más grande es? "

" Alto vive y alto mora
En él se cree, mas no se adora."

" Cuando asoma la nube de Arcalá,
El agua no fartará."

" El que ha de arañar
No ha de gorber cara atrás."

" Quien no ha visto a Granada
No ha visto nada."

" Ni del Papa beneficio,
Ni del rey oficio."

" Ya que el diablo nos lleve,
Que sea en coche."

" El viejo y el horno
Por la boca se calientan."

" Un hora duerme el gallo,
Dos el caballo,
Tres el santo."²²

Si unimos el quebrado al verso que le precede, tendremos:

- " No se engañe nadie, no,
11 pensando que ha de durar lo que espera
más que duró lo que vió,
12 pues que todo ha de pasar por tal manera."

²² Estos ejemplos están sacados de las obras siguientes: Rodríguez Marín, *Cien refranes andaluces*, Sevilla, 1894; *Id.*, *Cantos populares españoles*, Sevilla, 1883, t. V; Demofilo, *Post Scriptum a la obra de Cantos populares españoles de F. Rodríguez Marín*, Sevilla, 1883; Sbarbi, *Refranero general*, Madrid, 1874.

Como se ve, el pueblo español percibe muy bien el ritmo de la poesía noisilábica acentual.²⁴

Existen, pues, en castellano muchísimos versos que tienen el mismo ritmo a pesar de tener desigual número de sílabas. La solución del problema de los versos noisilábicos está en la comprensión del ritmo acentual que existe en ellos; no llegaremos jamás a comprender la versificación noisilábica española mientras tratemos de explicárnosla por comparación con la poesía latina o la francesa, porque estas dos lenguas son diferentes de la española: la primera porque tenía consciencia de la cantidad, que no percibe el oído español; y la segunda porque no tiene el sentido del acento en la misma proporción e intensidad que la española.

Tampoco puede explicarse esta poesía noisilábica si la estudiamos desde el punto de vista de las métricas modernas, que sólo toman en consideración la versificación isosilábica. Estas métricas nos ponen en peligro de dejarnos llevar por el oído artificial que hemos creado al estudiar este sistema isosilábico, que es en realidad un refinamiento al que ya antiguamente tendía la poesía española culta, y que se aceleró, primero con la imitación de los alejandrinos franceses, y más tarde con la imitación del endecasílabo italiano y sus quebrados, que debemos a Santillana, y en especial a Boscán y a Garcilaso.

Creo, pues, que en castellano han coexistido dos poesías: la popular o indígena, noisilábica (incluyendo la imitación erudita de esta), y la imitada, de origen extranjero, isosilábica, que aceleró el isosilabismo de la imitación culta de la poesía popular.²⁵

Las razones en que se apoya esta afirmación son las siguientes:

- 1). Los innumerables versos noisilábicos que nos quedan en español: *el Poema del Cid*, *de Rodrigo*, *de los Infantes de Lara*; muchos versos de Juan Ruiz, los versos de *Arte Mayor*, los refranes y quisicosas populares, muchísimos romances, los versos de pie quebrado noisilábicos, etc.
- 2). El hecho de que el simple cuento de las sílabas no hace versos españoles.
- 3). Los endecasílabos de más y menos de once sílabas que no se pueden distinguir de los isosilábicos, gracias a la importancia de los acentos.
- 4). El testimonio mismo de los poetas que imitaron metros franceses. En el *Libro de Apolonio* se llama al alejandrino *nueva maestría*.²⁶ El autor del *Libro de*

²⁴ Cf.

"Soy pálido, seco, enjuto
Y, sin embargo, a todo el mundo gusto."
(Demofilo, *op. cit.*, pág. 217).

"Break, break, break,
On thy cold gray stones, O Sea."

(Tennyson).

En ambos casos hay tres acentos fuertes en cada uno de los versos, pero el número de sílabas es diferente, y sin embargo son perfectamente rítmicos.

²⁵ Ureña tiene razón cuando escribe que ya cerca de 1500: "El isosilabismo se erige en norma de la versificación castellana, pero no en norma absoluta: el principio de la versificación rítmica, con grandes libertades respecto de las sílabas, se impone precisamente cuando el sistema amétrico desaparece. Ahora la irregularidad no afectará a toda la poesía, sino a manifestaciones especiales de carácter lírico, ligadas a menudo con el canto y aun con la danza." (*Op. cit.*, págs. 37 y 38).

No estamos de acuerdo con el Sr. Ureña en distinguir entre la poesía amétrica y la rítmica; creemos que toda la poesía es rítmica.

²⁶ *Libro de Apolonio*, en *Bibl. de aut. esp.*, t. LVII, pág. 283.

Alejandro dice que va a escribir un poema "a syllabas contadas, que es muy grant maestria."²⁷

- 5). El testimonio de los escritores de métrica antiguos. El Marqués de Santillana, en su proemio o carta al Condestable de Portugal, escribe: "Infimos son aquellos que sin ningún orden, regla, ni cuento fazen estos romances e cantares de que las gentes de baxa e servil condiçion se alegran." Y sigue insistiendo en el "pesso e cuento" de las sílabas.²⁸ Juan del Enzina dice: "O á quantos vemos en nuestra España estar en reputación de trobadores, que no se les da más por echar una sílaba y dos demasiadas que de menos," etc.²⁹ Esto indica que en realidad existía una versificación noisilábica de que gustaba el pueblo.
- 6). El hecho de que la mayor parte de la poesía isosilábica escrita con anterioridad al siglo XVI presenta irregularidades de monta. El Sr. Ureña dice que aun el alejandrino presenta irregularidades: el 25%, exceptuando a Berceo. Esto sólo puede explicarse porque el contar las sílabas no era cosa natural en España.³⁰
- 7). Se puede probar que el cuento de las sílabas les era extraño a los poetas españoles por el uso artificial del hiato en los poemas que sabemos emplean algún sistema extranjero. Ureña³¹ dice: "A menudo el poeta (Berceo) obtiene la regularidad mediante el empleo del hiato en forma artificial, que no se halla a mi juicio en ningún otro poeta." Espinosa³² dice que el verso del *Misterio* es de imitación extranjera; francesa y latina. Estudia el hiato y la sinalefa en el *Misterio*, y dice que el hiato tiene lugar en 63% de los casos de vocales contiguas.³³

²⁷ *El Libro de Alixandre*, edic. Morel-Fatio, Dresden, 1906, pág. 1.

²⁸ Vid. *Letter of the Marquis of Santillana to D. Peter, Constable of Portugal*, edic. Pastor y Prestage, Oxford, 1927, pág. 74.

²⁹ Enzina, *Arte de poesía castellana*, en Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ant. poet. liv. cast.*, Madrid, 1911, pág. 22. Véase, además, lo que sobre este particular dice P. H. Ureña (*op. cit.*, págs. 62-65), quien prueba esto mismo con gran cantidad de citas.

³⁰ Vid. Ureña, *op. cit.*, págs. 17 y 18. Hablando de Don Juan Manuel dice: "El endecasílabo de D. Juan Manuel proviene, mediatamente e inmediatamente, del trovadoresco; ha perdido el ritmo y conserva la medida, el número de sílabas, único elemento que pareció preocupar al autor" ("El endecasílabo castellano," *Rev. de Fil. Esp.*, t. VI, pág. 137). El Sr. Mussafia, en su artículo "Sull' Antica Metrica Portoghese, Osservazioni" (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, 1895), habla de estrofas en las que varía la rima (aguda o grave), pero no varía el número de sílabas. Lo mismo asegura la Sra. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos en su reseña del artículo del Sr. Mussafia (*Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, 1896, pág. 308). Hanssen (*Miscelánea de versificación castellana*, Santiago de Chile, 1897) dice que la música tendrá que explicar este fenómeno y quiere pronunciar todos los finales graves como si fuesen agudos para igualar el metro. Lo más probable es que los poetas imitasen el metro épico francés, y, como el contar las sílabas les era cosa extraña, destruían el ritmo por conservar el número exacto de sílabas.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, pág. 17.

³² "Versification of *El Misterio de los Reyes Magos*," en *ROM. REV.*, VI, 1915, pág. 393.

³³ *Ibid.*, pág. 398.

Además añade que en Berceo el hiato es "by far more common than synalepha."³⁴ Hanssen, que sabe contar muy bien las sílabas, dice: "En cuanto a Gonzalo a mí me consta con toda seguridad que no hacía uso de la sinalefa."³⁵ Después de examinar los 7290 hemistiquios de los *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, de Berceo, dice que solamente se podrían citar 18 para probar que hay sinalefa. Agrega que se podrían eliminar con enmendaciones fáciles. Estos dieciocho hemistiquios, donde existe la sinalefa, prueban que existe el hiato en todos los otros casos de vocales contiguas.

Hablando del *Rimado de Palacio*, dice Hanssen:

"Si aceptáramos el texto tradicional, tendríamos que creer que, en la parte didáctica de su obra, López de Ayala ha compuesto algunas estrofas en alejandrinos, otras en octonarios . . . admitiendo la sinalefa en los octonarios, excluyéndola en los alejandrinos."³⁶

De lo cual resulta que en los octonarios aparece la sinalefa mucho más que el hiato, y todo lo contrario pasa con los alejandrinos.³⁷ La explicación de este fenómeno está en que los alejandrinos son extranjeros y los octonarios indígenas. Es indiscutible que en los *romances viejos* la sinalefa es lo corriente, y el hiato la excepción. Y esto mismo se puede afirmar sin vacilaciones de toda la poesía indígena española, exceptuando, tal vez, los versos de *Arte Mayor*, que obedecen a un sistema especial.

Después de todo, la sinalefa es lo natural en el lenguaje, al contrario del hiato, que es lo artificial. No sé por qué razón, los versificadores, versificando en su propia lengua, habían de usar el hiato con preferencia a la sinalefa, de la que nos servimos naturalmente al hablar. Las leyes de la economía y del menor esfuerzo han sido siempre tan importantes en las lenguas como lo son al presente.³⁸ Se comprende muy bien, por lo tanto, que los poetas que escribían en metros propios, que les eran familiares, se sirviesen de la sinalefa naturalmente; y al contrario, los que se servían de metros extranjeros, y tenían que contar las sílabas, como Berceo, se sirviesen de este medio artificial, hiato, para conseguir su número exacto de sílabas.

A esto se debe añadir que la cesura contra sentido no existe en la versificación indígena española, y sin embargo existe en la poesía imitada de otras lenguas, lo que prueba también que son dos versificaciones completamente distintas: la una natural, la otra artificial.³⁹

En conclusión: en español hay dos sistemas diferentes de versificación anteriores al siglo XVI: el indígena, que no cuenta las sílabas, emplea la sinalefa con preferencia al hiato, y no admite la cesura contra sentido; y el extranjero, que cuenta las sílabas,

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pág. 398.

³⁵ Hanssen, *Misc. de vers. cast.*, págs. 67 y 68.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, pág. 35.

³⁷ En la página 34 de la obra citada dice Hanssen: "En los octonarios se admite la sinalefa."

³⁸ Como dice el Sr. Espinosa ("Versif. of *El Mist. de los Rey. Mag.*," *ROMANIC REVIEW*, VI, 1915, pág. 399): "Nebrija does not speak of it (synalepha) as an innovation, and historical Spanish grammar shows that it has always existed in Spanish."

³⁹ Menéndez Pidal dice: "La cesura popular contra sentido de que habla Restori, me es desconocida, al menos en el romance popular castellano" (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, pág. 88). Y en otra parte dice: "En los poemas de Clerecla este procedimiento es admitido" (*Op. cit.*, pág. 89).

que admite el hiato en proporciones enormes, para sacar el número exacto de sílabas a que no estaban acostumbrados los poetas españoles, y que además admite la cesura contra sentido. Después del siglo XVI la poesía española culta, gracias a las influencias extranjeras, francesa e italiana, se hace esencialmente isosilábica, pero predominando los acentos para el ritmo, mientras que la poesía popular continúa siendo noisosilábica.

Considerando la poesía indígena española desde este punto de vista, lo que es muy natural, no tendremos necesidad de recurrir a explicaciones arbitrarias ni a términos exóticos (catalexis, anacrusis, sinalefa, o compensación entre versos), ni de buscarle antepasados. Si damos al acento la importancia que realmente debe tener en una lengua tan acentual como lo es la castellana, habremos encontrado el secreto de su ritmo. Veremos claramente que una sílaba de más o de menos no altera su armonía, siempre que haya los acentos primarios necesarios, en su propio lugar y con la intensidad que se requiere, pues el acento es el que determina el ritmo en las lenguas que lo tienen.⁴⁰

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⁴⁰ La historia de la métrica castellana prueba concluyentemente que los versos noisosilábicos no se pueden hacer isosilábicos a pesar de las muchas ingeniosas teorías que se han inventado para ello.

REVIEWS

A. Baillot, *Influence de la Philosophie de Schopenhauer en France (1860-1900)*. Étude suivie d'un Essai sur les Sources françaises de Schopenhauer, Paris, J. Vrin, 1927, viii + 358 + 74 pp.

In this extensive volume Dr. Baillot has undertaken to determine the exact nature of Schopenhauer's influence upon French thought and letters. As a literary and emotional philosopher Schopenhauer has appealed more to reflective authors than to technical and systematic philosophers, and this study of his ascendancy had to become in the main a survey of "pessimism" in modern letters, especially in such poets as Mme Ackerman, Jean Lahor, or Sully Prudhomme. Even in philosophy, his influence is most perceptible in semi-literary, imaginative or emotional works, as in Renan's *Dialogues philosophiques*, Taine's *Thomas Graindorge*, Guyau's *Vers d'un Philosophe* and his *Irreligion de l'Avenir*, Amiel's *Journal*, or Maeterlinck's *La Sagesse et la Destinée*. Among the more specific metaphysicians only Renouvier and Bergson show traces of contact with the thought of the German pseudo-Buddhist, from whom they took some color, although they rejected his main tenets.

Dr. Baillot has contributed valuable data about the infiltration of Schopenhauer's thought in France after 1860; he has traced it with care in some nineteenth-century philosophers and mainly in the Parnassian authors, but the volume suffers from the vagueness of the term "pessimism." If it had been limited to the few authentic cases of Schopenhauer's direct influence upon French letters, its bulk would have been considerably reduced. But the author has not resisted the temptation of prefacing his study by an outline of Pessimism in the Nineteenth Century—and "pessimism" is, unhappily, a chameleon-word of many hues and shades of meaning. Dr. Baillot distinguishes several forms of it: "pessimisme irrationaliste, individualiste, misanthropique, scientifique," as well as several emotional and sentimentally romantic ones, but their differentiation is difficult and their compass too all-inclusive. These various "aspects" even tend to increase the number of mental attitudes and more or less fluctuating doctrines that can be classified as "pessimism." Their somewhat bewildering variety ranges all the way from simple moonlight melancholia or from a sad autumnal mood to a Werther-like "inability to love and live" or to a pseudo-Hamletic "annihilation of the Will"; it may mean the poetic pouting of spoiled children against the harshness of life, but also intellectual nihilism, or despair because of the ruin of faith by science; it includes imitations of the *Book of Job*, aspirations to the Buddhist Nirvana and love of solitary nature far from the evils of man, à la Rousseau. Add to all this the unavoidable "mal du siècle"—that vague "Romantic suffering," which is so vague that no one has ever clearly defined its meaning,—and it may be obvious that "pessimism" is one of these rubber-like critical terms that can be stretched or narrowed at the critic's own will or wile.

Since the field remains thus weakly outlined "aux contours vagues" free play is given to a tendency towards generalization. Not to seem partial, I shall limit here the discussion to the first three pages only: "La Révolution, en brisant les chaînes et les croyances ne fit que hâter la réapparition du pessimisme sur la scène de l'univers. Et, la Terreur passée, la mélancholie revint, plus sombre que jamais. Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de rappeler quelques noms: André Chénier, Chateaubriand,

Goethe, Byron, Leopardi."¹ But why should the Revolution with its belief in Progress, Humanity, Liberty, Reason, have brought on an unbelieving pessimism? The essence of Revolutionary doctrine is an exalted trust in the "goodness of human nature" and the "righteousness of reason,"—convictions or illusions that are not at all "pessimistic."

The next paragraph tells us that "à l'aube du dix-neuvième siècle, le pessimisme entourait la France (Angleterre, Allemagne, l'Italie), n'osant pénétrer au cœur des triomphes napoléoniens. Grisée de l'encens des *Te Deum*, la France proclamait insolemment que tout allait pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes." These generalities contradict the other set of generalities expounded in the previous paragraph. If the Revolution "renewed pessimism," how did it happen that the countries where no revolution took place—England, Germany, Italy—could surround France by 1800 with a "pessimism" that did "not dare" to cross the frontier (as if it were an allied army kept out by Napoleon's superior generalship)? Or does this mean that the French Revolution, by destroying in France "les chaînes et les croyances" brought about in other countries a revival of pessimism? If so, this would not be substantiated by fact: Pessimism in its several forms,—perennial or historical,—was long before the Revolution part and parcel of general European pre-Romanticism. It continued its course unmodified even by the French *Terreur*. *Werther* dates from 1774; *The Man of Feeling* appeared in 1771; Mrs. Radcliffe published her first "gothic" novel in 1789; Young's *Night Thoughts* were imitated in France decades before the Revolution; etc. Moreover, several hundred English novels were translated into French in the eighteenth century—and many of them were pessimistically tearful. And, if pessimism did not penetrate into France under Napoleon,—how could *René* have appeared in 1802? Pessimism, understood as various forms of melancholy, nihilism or somber revolt, was a psychological or a literary attitude both in France and in Europe before, during, and after the Revolution, before and after Napoleon. The Conqueror did not "keep it out of France," nor did he introduce it. It seems dangerous to draw pseudo-historical parallels between political events and literature at the expense of fact and because of the vague theory that "literature mirrors the life of the times." In some cases it does; in others it "mirrors" thoughts vastly different from the ones predominating in social life.

Another example of this tendency: Napoleon is defeated: "nous connûmes les humiliations de la défaite, et le rose se tacheta de noir. Le front d'Adolphe [Benjamin Constant] se rembrunit, et Senancour devint sinistre." But *Adolphe* was composed in 1806, although printed in 1816; and Senancour did not at all wait till after 1815 to become "sinistre." During the French Revolution, in 1795, he had published his book of renunciation, *Aldomen ou le Bonheur dans l'Obscurité*; his *Rêveries* date from 1799–1800 and his *Obermann* from 1804, and it is under Napoleon's reign that his pessimism runs to its bitter end. It seems historically unjustified to attribute the revival of lyricism, or the Romantic movement of 1820–1830, to the defeat of Napoleon under pretext that "à la période héroïque succède la période lyrique" or that "ne pouvant plus agir la France chanta pour bercer son ennui," or that "le romantisme devint la nouvelle forme des esprits désenchantés" (after 1815). Is it even necessary to point out that lyric poetry flourished at the same time in the victorious European nations, as well as in defeated France, and that Romanticism was a general current streaming with the same force in all countries, and not only in France with its "esprits désenchantés"?

¹ Strange assemblage of names in this connection: Chénier died in 1794, Leopardi was born in 1798.

Another example of this fallacious historic-literary parallelism: In 1815 France was invaded by the Allied armies and "à l'invasion guerrière succède une invasion larmoyante. On va chercher les exemples chez les peuples qui ont triomphé par les armes: Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe *deviennent* des maîtres. Les héros vaincus saisissent la harpe et pleurent sur des ruines," etc. But the *genre larmoyant* is definitely an eighteenth-century genre; Volney's *Ruines* appeared in 1791; the prose of Baculard d'Arnaud is more tearful than that of any of Hugo's contemporaries; Ossian, Shakespeare, Goethe or Milton were imitated half a century before the Allied invasion of 1815! (Cf. the studies of Van Tieghem, Jusserand, Baldensperger, etc.). The investigations of the last two decades on the origins or the evolution of Romanticism are here neglected in order to present a striking historic-literary *tableau*.

I present full homage to this study for the solid parts it contains: the descriptions of the gradual growth of Schopenhauer's fame in France, of his relation to Voltaire and other eighteenth-century philosophers, of his influence upon the Parnassian poets. But it may be regretted that its approach to literary history is too vaguely ideological, and occasionally too ornated with the tinsel of eloquent generalities. Moreover, I regret that Dr. Baillot is out of sympathy with part of his subject,—with certain modernist poets. He even loses sometimes his critical balance to indulge in invective against them—although this aversion has nothing to do either with Schopenhauer or with his influence. Let us take, for instance, his violent diatribe against Rimbaud, whose spontaneous art he fails to appreciate. He disapproves of the personal life of this "precocious outlaw," and he believes that he was never a full-fledged poet. "Il a passé son temps à chercher sa voie. Malgré sa conversion, il n'est pas sûr qu'il l'ait trouvée." Moreover he adds,—against all evidence,—that "l'alcool et la débauche l'ont tué à trente-sept ans." It is not astonishing that after this moral condemnation Rimbaud's verse is denied all value: "Si tout n'est pas à dédaigner dans les élucubrations de ce 'génie' halluciné, il y a beaucoup trop de scores pour lui vouer quelque admiration . . . ce personnage étrange inspire peu de sympathie . . . nous refusons de nous pâmer devant ses inepties maquillées. . . ." It is strange to find such abuse in a study on Schopenhauer's influence, the more that Dr. Baillot stresses at once that Schopenhauer had *no influence* whatever on Rimbaud. Why devote a page of invective to his poetry, his manners, his life and his death, when he falls entirely outside the scope of this study? Even the lack of Schopenhauer's influence is interpreted to Rimbaud's disadvantage: "Inutile d'ajouter que ce 'sauvage' lisait trop peu pour avoir lu Schopenhauer, qu'il s'intéressait trop peu aux préoccupations philosophiques de son époque pour avoir pu refléter, même faiblement, des influences qu'il ne soupçonnait même pas." But it is well known that Rimbaud had read much and very early, that he ransacked the public library of his native town and that of his school, and borrowed books from his teacher. And if Schopenhauer did not influence him, it is because Rimbaud disdained his "renunciation of life" and wanted to live it out flamingly and in its fullest intensity. These thunderbolts of destruction launched at a non-conformist genius betray, I believe, that the philosopher-critic failed to find in his verse the neat formulation of abstract theories in verse, which to him seem to be the essence of poetry. It is due to this didactic approach that he can prefer Sully Prudhomme, a far more consistent thinker, of irreproachable manners,—but whose poetry remains evidently far inferior to Rimbaud's.

On the other hand, it is somewhat astonishing to note that whereas a number of slight or dubious, or even negative "influences" of Schopenhauer are discussed, some

of the most authentic cases are omitted: In Jules Laforgue's early verse—and especially in his *Sanglot de la Terre*,—scientific poetry, Buddhism and Schopenhauer are combined to form the philosophic basis of his cosmic despair. His moment of Messianism, when he resolved to go out "pieds nus" to the clamorous cities to preach the doctrine of universal renunciation and universal suicide, could be styled "a crisis of active Schopenhauerism." His conception of woman as "la servante de Maya," dispenser of illusions to males, duped in the name of life-instinct, chimed in with the ironies of the German misogynist. And this influence was still increased indirectly when Laforgue later came under the spell of von Hartmann's *Philosophie des Unbewussten*. Again, Emile Verhaeren's *Les Soirs*, *Les Débâcles*, and *Les Flambeaux Noirs* are not mentioned, although they show quite definite traces of Schopenhauer's influence:

"Regarde en toi l'illusion de l'univers
 Danser; le monde entier est du monde la dupe;
 Agis gratuitement et sans remords; occupe
 Ta vie absurde à se moquer de son revers."

The book ends with an apology for pessimism. The author believes that it is neither pernicious nor weakening, nor unhealthy, nor antisocial, and he welcomes its increase in this sad netherworld: "Il est probable que l'accroissement du pessimisme fera plus nombreux les belles intelligences, les nobles caractères, les grands cœurs." In fact, he is a real optimist in his staunch belief in the delivering force, the tonic qualities and the moral value of pessimism. On this issue we may be allowed to "suspend judgement," but, if strong doses of despair and nihilism could produce this noble self-perfection, they would be vastly more tolerable than they are. . . .

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Barbara Matulka, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion*, New York University Centennial Series, N. Y., 1931, xvii + 475 pp.

A study of the two novels of Juan de Flores, *Grisel y Mirabella* and *Grisel y Gradiassa*, leads one immediately into some fascinating problems of literary history. How intricately complicated and widely ramified are these problems Miss Matulka has made apparent for the first time in her exhaustive study of the Spanish romancer and his work. The book is a monument to her scholarly industry and thoroughness. She discusses each of de Flores' romances in detail, including sources, analogues, translations, and imitations; she also includes an edition of the earliest text of each, an appendix on the works attributed to Juan de Flores, an essay on the dating of *Grisel* and *Grisel y Gradiassa*, and a bibliography of editions of the former. Moreover, the book is illustrated by reproductions of the quaint title pages from early editions of the romance. The volume is attractive as well as useful.

The most interesting section is the first one, dealing with *Grisel y Mirabella*, a version of which found its way into English in 1606 under the delectable title: *A Paire of Turtle Doves, or, The Tragicall History of Bellora and Fidelio . . . wherein . . . is described this never before debated question To wit: Whether man to woman, or woman to man offer the greater temptations and allurements unto unbridled lust. . . .* This is the story of a Princess of Scotland who is tried with her lover before her own father the King, according to an ancient law which stated that the guiltier of the two parties in such a case should be put to death. There ensued a combat of generosity in which each lover claimed to be the guiltier, in order to save the other. The trial became a debate on the general subject of the relative guilt of Man and Woman; in

the end, Grisel was burnt at the stake and Mirabella committed suicide. The "law of Scotland," under which one of the lovers is doomed to the stake, resembles like judgments in the *chansons de geste* and Arthurian romances; to these Miss Matulka has added some interesting Celtic analogues, and she points out that one of the closest analogues is to be found in a similar situation in the life of the Scottish Saint Kentigern. The jealous watch kept over the Princess by her father to prevent the access of all wooers recalls similar situations in *märchen* and classical myth. The debate on the relative merits of man and woman makes this romance a document in the so-called feminist controversy which had raged in literature for several centuries, a controversy to which Christine de Pisan and many others had contributed. The use of a woman named *Braçayda*—a variant of *Briseida*—as a defender of women, connects the story with the legend of Troy. The use of a man named *Torrellas*—a contemporary author—as an advocate for the cause of men connects the romance with a curious chapter of Spanish literary history, to which Miss Matulka makes a significant contribution. Finally, the main theme, the combat of generosity, led to a whole series of imitations in later literature. Students of English will be particularly interested in the Elizabethan play, *Sweetnam, the Woman-Hater*, indirectly derived from Juan's work; students of French, in *Le Prince déguisé* of Scudéry, which was imitated from it.

This gives but an incomplete list of the literary problems discussed in connection with *Grisel y Mirabella*, the more widely diffused of the two romances. Less interesting as comparative literature is *Grimalte y Gradissa*, a sad sentimental story of two faithful and two unfaithful lovers, so paired off that neither pair is happy. Despite its connection with the *Fiammetta* of Boccaccio and the *Eurialus and Lucretia* of Aeneas Silvius, it offers fewer opportunities for comparative study. One of the best contributions in this section is Miss Matulka's study of the mad lover in the wilderness and his resemblance to the hairy anchorite of saintly legend.

A study of this kind is particularly instructive because it illustrates the necessity of journeying far afield when one is working on any problem of comparative literature. If Miss Matulka had not known the romances of the Middle Ages as well as those of the Renaissance, or if she had confined herself to the Spanish language alone, her work would have had but a limited significance in the history of culture. As it is, her methods may well serve as a model to other students. In some details there might have been improvement—repetitions might have been avoided, and space saved—but the work as a whole is admirable in plan and scope.

In connection with one imitation of *Grisel y Mirabella*, the *Prince déguisé* of Scudéry (recently reedited by Miss Matulka for the Institute of French Studies), I have one suggestion to make. Although Juan de Flores is indeed the chief source, Scudéry seems to have drawn also on a Latin romance named *Argenis* by the Englishman John Barclay. This was translated into French under the title *Argénie* in 1622, and republished many times thereafter. It is a *roman à clef* about a Princess of Sicily, *Argenis*, who is courted by two lovers, *Poliarchus* and *Lycogenes*. *Poliarchus*, who is not favored by the King, is forced to visit the Princess in disguise, but their meetings and correspondence are betrayed by her maid *Selinissa*. In the end, however, *Poliarchus* wins *Argenis*, who, in this political allegory, personifies Succession to the Crown. From Barclay's romance Scudéry seems to have taken the heroine's name (*Argenis*: *Argénie*) and the localization in Sicily; possibly also the hero's name (*Poliarchus*: *Cléarque*) and his appearance in disguise. These are but details, to be sure, but the connection is interesting; and it is possible, I should think, that John Barclay also knew the work of Juan de Flores.

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Arturo Farinelli, *Italia e Spagna*, Torino, Fratelli Bocca, 1929, 2 vols., xi + 442 and 462 pp.

With a note of sadness in his Introduction, this eminent Italian scholar seems to bid farewell to his studies, and to the scholarly dreams that spurred him on in the passionate research of his earlier days; he now calls upon others to continue this labor of love to which he has devoted his life. With his vast erudition and his indefatigable investigations, he is one of the leading exponents of comparative literature from the Spanish point of view, a field in which relatively little work is now being done.

In these two comprehensive volumes he has gathered some of the most substantial of his many contributions to Spanish-Italian literary relations. They form a collection of his early articles published in previous years, but revised and completed with pertinent new material and copious annotations which mainly embody the results of recent research. In this way these annotated studies give a complete survey of the latest studies on certain interesting subjects such as, for instance, feminism in fifteenth century Spain, to which he contributes a number of important documents. He has, for example, devoted about a dozen pages to an extensive discussion of the relations of Pedro Torrellas, the Catalan poet, to the feminist movement of his period; and, from his footnotes and numerous other references to Torrellas dispersed all through the first volume, a substantial study, both biographical and literary, can be deduced. It suffices to follow up the numerous clues he gives, such as to Baselga y Ramírez's *El Cancionero Catalán de la Universidad de Zaragoza* or to the well-known studies of Massó Torrents, to reconstitute the interesting polemics that raged around this Spanish imitator of Boccaccio. He has treated with the same thoroughness and detail many other points of Italian-Spanish literary relations, and the abundant clues in his numerous footnotes are precious because of the vistas they open up on subjects in which much investigation remains to be done.

The way in which these studies grew explains why some of the most interesting material is hidden in a footnote. It also explains why the work ranges over all the important fields of Italian-Spanish literary and cultural relations. Volume I discusses at length the influence of Petrarch in Spain in the Middle Ages, and more exhaustively still, that of Boccaccio up to the age of Cervantes and Lope de Vega. A study of the library of the Marqués de Santillana leads to a reconsideration of Italian-Spanish humanism. Volume II is more extensive in scope: it studies the early cultural and literary relations of the two countries, the rôle of the Aragonese in Naples, Spaniards and Spanish literature in Italy during the Renaissance, the influence of Tasso in Spain, and Italian-Spanish relations in the seventeenth century. It also includes an account of Farinelli's journey in Spain in 1900, during which he came in contact with the leading Spanish scholars. As appendices he adds a discussion of Lope de Vega's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, which had already appeared in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Spi. und Lit.* in 1902, but is here expanded with many annotations; a study of Cicognini's debt to Spanish drama; and one on "Una epistola poetica del capitano Cristóval de Virués."

These variegated studies, all of them minutely documented and exhaustive, confine themselves to facts, dates and bibliographical materials for a treatise on Italian-Spanish literary relations and influences, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which still remains to be written. If one bears this object in mind, these volumes will be found invaluable. Being largely pioneer work, they gather the scattered materials on several vital problems in comparative literature; they clear up many details and, in general, take stock of the existing problems and

propose new solutions. As such, they should be looked upon largely as the groundwork, the *bausteine*, of an extensive history in this comparative field, as an indispensable point of departure for all future studies. Many may regret that Farinelli did not write a synthetic study of the Italian literature in Spain, especially since he was so supremely qualified to do this,—but he has proved too patient, too minute, too honest a scholar, ever to cover gaps in his documentation with synthetic generalities. It is mainly this profound honesty in research that has made him accumulate this infinite and precious detail of which others than he, perhaps, will make the fullest use.

His many discoveries, however, are a substantiation of his fame as an investigator. Each problem that he has touched he has changed and illuminated. For example, he studies Boccaccio's influence in Spain not only through the *Decameron*, but his other works as well, and demonstrates that rather than his masterpiece, his other works were the object of admiration in Spain, were translated and commented upon, especially in the earlier decades. Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum et mulierum illustrium* and *De claris mulieribus* in Latin and his *Corbaccio* and *Fiammetta* in Italian, brought his name to the pens of many a Spanish imitator. The last three especially set him in the very midst of the feminist debate in fifteenth-century Spain. Not only were his arguments repeated both for and against women, but he himself was represented as a wise master of morals, warning unsuspecting youths against the dangers of mundane love. It was in this spirit that Juan de Flores adopted Boccaccio's *Fiammetta* as the subject of his novelette, the *Grimalte y Gradissa*. But if I may be allowed a difference of opinion, one might have indicated that Juan de Flores did not merely imitate this elegy of love's deception, but wrote a reply and expostulation, bringing it sternly to its fatal conclusion on this earth and carrying the feud on to the beyond, to the perdition of a soul through all eternity. As to Petrarch, Farinelli indicates a similar phenomenon. Rather than the *Sonnets* on which the poet's fame rests still to-day, his Latin works came into prominence in early Spanish letters,—his *De vita solitaria*, *De viris illustribus* and *De remediis utriusque fortunae*.

Turning to the much debated question of *Préciosité*, Farinelli defends the opinion that Spanish influence is *not* responsible for Marinism or for any of the *précieux* style in Italy, and on the other hand that Gongorism is *not* of Italian origin. His study on Tasso in Spain is a reworking of an earlier article of 1900 which dealt only with an unknown Spanish translation of *Jerusalem Delivered*. It breaks new ground in several directions, and indicates Tasso's influence upon the Spanish stage.

All of the subjects of which Farinelli treats are of a similar vital interest and of real importance for the elucidation of Italian-Spanish cultural and literary relations. The work is a repertory of documents and materials which, no doubt, will be enriched with new discoveries; yet these studies will stand as a basic reference work for all the future investigations which their wealth of suggestions will undoubtedly inspire.

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Ludwig Pfandl, *Johanna die Wahnsinnige. Ihr Leben. Ihre Zeit. Ihre Schuld*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1930, xii + 191 pp.

The poets and the historians have never agreed in their estimates of Juana la Loca. The poets have always pictured her as the tragic victim of her husband's infidelities and her father's political machinations. To the historians she is at best a shadowy, incompetent figure in a brief interregnum of confusion and civil war

between the two glorious reigns of her mother, the incomparable Isabella, and her son, the magnificent Charles V; at worst she is the unhappy instrument of fate doomed to transmit to succeeding generations of the house of Hapsburg the germs of that mental disease which cast a gloom over the brightest days of its history.

Pfandl approaches his subject as an historian and as a psychiatrist. From contemporary sources—letters, ambassadorial reports, descriptions of public occasions and other documents of state—he brings evidence to show that the unfortunate queen suffered from *dementia praecox*, a malady with which her grandmother, Isabel of Portugal, had been afflicted during the last years of her life.

The dormant tendency to the disease was, he admits, in Juana's case aggravated by emotional excitement. The first unmistakable symptoms of her illness appeared when she was detained against her will in Castile after her husband had left for Flanders. A second outbreak occurred during a fit of jealous rage when she attacked one of her ladies-in-waiting with a pair of scissors and disfigured the pretty face which she believed had aroused Philip's admiration. Pfandl believes, however, that Juana's excessive jealousy was a form of the persecution mania, a result, therefore, and a symptom, rather than a cause of her disease. The marital infidelities of the handsome Philip were, he thinks, no more than were to be expected from a man of his position in his time. Promiscuity, for a prince, was no heinous crime. Isabella might with as much reason have complained of Ferdinand, who had populated the court with bastards, but she, being of sound mind, had accepted the situation as natural and inevitable.

The symptoms of Juana's disorder seem to have grown more pronounced after her mother's death. At least there was more cause to observe them after she had succeeded to the throne. She became a prey to *abulia*, refused to accept responsibility or to make decisions, and insisted, with pathological intensity, on the performance of certain acts characteristic of dementia, such as the daily washing and rewashing of her hair.

Then suddenly Philip died, and her behavior became so eccentric that the whole world knew that she was mad. Many of the romantic incidents which have been woven into this part of her story Pfandl rejects as legendary. The eerie funeral journey with her husband's body was, he finds, no aimless wandering about the country. Philip had asked to be buried in Granada, but for a time the casket was kept in a monastery at Burgos, the city in which he had died, for Juana could not at first be reconciled to the fact that she had lost him. It is true that she went to the monastery every few days and insisted on looking at her husband's body to reassure herself that it had not been removed or dishonored, but the more sensational details which have been told concerning these visits must be dismissed as apocryphal. Finally an epidemic broke out in Burgos, and the queen and her retinue left the city and went to the little town of Torquemada, making their way by torchlight, at night, carrying the king's body with them. The plague spread to Torquemada and the procession moved on again—to Hornillos, to Tórtolas, to Arcos. Finally Juana's father had her brought to the lonely castle in Tordesillas where she spent the forty-six years of death-in-life that remained to her. The casket containing Philip's body was placed in a near-by church where she could see it from her apartments, but within a few years she had forgotten all about it and she made no protest when Ferdinand removed it to its final resting place in Granada. She had now sunk into a condition of complete indifference to her surroundings, alternating periodically with fits of violence; she suffered from horrible hallucinations and neglected the most elemental bodily needs.

Thirty odd years pass and her great-grandson is born to a similar fate. The tragic inheritance falls to a rachitic, subnormal child. It is one of the supreme ironies of history that this imbecile youth lives for posterity transfigured as the inspiring hero of Schiller's *Don Carlos*. Pfandl leaves no shred of Schiller's romantic picture intact. The chapter which he devotes to the prince's life, "Die Katastrophe des Urenkels," is the detailed case-history of a schizophrenic degenerate.

On the whole Pfandl's account is logical, well documented, and convincing. At certain points the reader makes mental reservations. Throughout the book the author is plainly the partisan of the Church. Philip II, the "adored husband" of Isabel of Valois, the long-suffering father of the demented Carlos, the "innocent victim" of plotting traitors, is his hero. Montigny and William of Orange are "unprincipled scoundrels" and "common traitors"; the revolt in the Netherlands, "the work of treacherous disloyalty rather than the result of an intellectual movement." He does not always give Juana's champions a fair hearing, belittles the authenticated accounts of her lucid intervals, and dismisses rather summarily the charges against the keepers whom Ferdinand set to watch over her at Tordesillas, though he admits that her condition grew steadily worse after their appointment. It is to be regretted that he has not paid more consideration to these objections. Until they are impartially examined and refuted, poets will still insist that the complaint from which both Juana and Carlos suffered was, in part, "la locura de amor" and that their dementia was at times complicated with "herejía."

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Juan Martínez de Cuéllar, *Desengaño del hombre en el Tribunal de la Fortuna y Casa de Descontentos*; nueva edición revisada y prologada por Luis Astrana Marín (Los Clásicos olvidados, Tomo V), Madrid, Blass, 1928, xvi + 166 pp.

The publication of the series known as *Los Clásicos olvidados*, conceived as a continuation of the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, and directed by Sr. D. Pedro Sáinz y Rodríguez, is a project welcomed gratefully by students of Spanish literature. It is to be hoped, however, that the editing of the other volumes may be on a higher level than that accorded the one under review.¹ The standard of the *N. B. A. E.* is not maintained in the treatment of the *Desengaño del hombre*, which shows evidence of carelessness.

The editor has provided a prologue of twelve pages containing some inference concerning the author, notes on his style, suggestions as to sources and influences, a sketch of the narrative with practically a paraphrase of some portions, and a description of the three editions known. Although he admits the imprudence of conjecture, Sr. Astrana Marín indulges his imagination somewhat regarding the fate of Juan Martínez de Cuéllar, mentioning the possibilities of an early death, removal to America, or entrance into a monastery. It is true that the approbation and other preliminaries imply that the book was the first work of a young man, but in the absence of documentation it is futile to guess at the date of his birth.

Not everyone will agree with the editor in his observations on the style of the author, which he finds to be *quevedesco* and at the same time "puro y sin afectaciones gongorinas." The court scene in Fortuna's palace reflects the spirit of Quevedo, but

¹ The preceding titles in the series are: I-II. *Obras escogidas de D. Bartolomé José Gallardo*; III. *Dramáticos del siglo XVII: Alvaro Cubillo de Aragón*; IV. *Obras completas de Alvarez Gato*.

elsewhere there is little in the style that is distinctly reminiscent of the great satirist. While it certainly does not represent the extreme of the type, yet the novel reveals tendencies toward *culturismo* and *conceptismo*, as well as a pedanticism to be expected in a work of its period. Ticknor considered the style gongoristic (cf. *History of Spanish Literature*, N. Y., 1854, III, p. 113, fn.). The opening words of the narrative seem to bear out this opinion:

"Gemía el Boreas con espantoso estruendo, entre las tenebrosas sombras de la oscura noche, llenas de horror, y silencio (quando los vitales alientos, recogidas las velas del cansancio, sacrificaban pacíficos holocaustos á Morpheo) caminaua yo," etc.

It is doubtful, too, whether most scholars would agree that the *Desengaño del hombre* is the best imitation ("la imitación más feliz") that we have of Quevedo's *Sueños*.

The editor states that he has spent several years searching in libraries and archives for mention of the author and, since his efforts have been fruitless in this regard, we might expect a more detailed study than he gives us of sources and of influences upon the work itself. His suggestions are, for the most part, stated without indicating precise evidences of relationship. Lucian, Juvenal, and Quevedo are mentioned as models in the personification of abstract qualities, and it is later suggested that the author probably had in mind the *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, the *Crotalón*, the *Discursos del beato Hipólito*, *Visión de Filiberto*, *La vida y la muerte* of Fray Francisco de Avila, the *Dialoghi piacevoli* of Niccolò Franco, the *Danzas de la muerte*, the *Coloquio de los perros* of Cervantes, etc. *El mundo por dentro* of Quevedo, for the conception of *Desengaño* taking the youth on a journey of enlightenment, and the *Remedii Fortuitorum* of Seneca, for comments on friendship, are the only works mentioned in which any definite influence is noted. The former is undoubtedly one of the works of Quevedo which most influenced Martínez de Cuéllar, but certain resemblances to Quevedo's *La Fortuna con seso*, *Genealogía de los Modorros* and *Deposario entre el Casar y la Juventud* should have been pointed out as well.

The space that is given to tracing the thread of the narrative would have been more happily filled by a scholarly treatment of the references mentioned above, which are listed so vaguely. The discussion of women is presented in some detail, selections quoted or paraphrased from the novel being interspersed with comments of the editor until at times one is confused as to the author of some of the statements. There is, of course, no doubt as to the responsibility for one quotation which seems rather more than superfluous. After allusion to the old saying that for a happy marriage the husband should be deaf and the wife blind, this item of news is presented:

"Y lo curioso del caso es que en tiempos modernos se ha puesto en práctica con ligeras variantes, por cuanto Morse, inventor del telégrafo, y Bell, del teléfono, casáronse (extraña paradoja!) con mujeres sordomudas" (p. xii).

This note, as well as the editor's personal sentiments about satirical attacks on women, has little place in a critical study of this kind.

In describing the preceding editions of the *Desengaño del hombre*, Sr. Astrana Marín gives the wording of the title-page of the original (1663). Even in this detail, however, there are several inaccuracies. Such faults, although slight, are sufficiently misleading to nullify any usefulness for identification purposes. A facsimile reproduction would have been much better.

The final statement of the prologue is that the present edition follows the text of the original, being modified only in orthography and in that which was absolutely necessary to facilitate reading. Here the reviewer is frankly skeptical. With the

exception of two minor variants the episode on page 82 follows the text of the 1792 edition, which here differs materially from that of the original and the undated editions. Additional evidence exists that the 1792 edition was the basis for the modern one. For example, where the older editions read *mirais* (1663, f. 33, verso; n.d., p. 60), those of 1792 (p. 74) and 1928 (p. 83) read *miras*. The form *mirais* is proper in this place. There are other divergences which reveal questionable accuracy, such as the substitution of the word *cuadidades* for *crueidades* of the three early editions (1663, f. 33, recto; 1928, p. 82).

The explanation for the variance of the 1792 edition in this account is, apparently, that its editor failed to understand the rather loose construction of the original, and attempted to clarify it by suppressing the names whose significance he did not see and supplying the same name throughout. The editor of the present edition calls attention to the reading of the undated edition as a variant and suggests a reason for the change, an explanation which could scarcely be expected to be plausible, since the chronology of the two readings is reversed. The incident related is historical, but the identification of the hero as Caligula's horse is evidently a confusion of names.

Any attempt to explain the confusion of the editions in this passage would be mere conjecture, a respect in which one need not follow the editor's tendency. That at least one of the earlier editions was used to some extent is apparent not only in the reference to the undated edition, but also in the fact that there is included the full text of the diatribe upon women, about ten pages of which were omitted in the 1792 edition. In a footnote attention is called to this omission. The text of this section might have been taken from either the undated or the 1663 version.

In spite of the shortcomings noted it is a real satisfaction to have accessible this late example of Spanish allegory, an example combining characteristics of its own seventeenth-century period with some that belong to the earlier development of the type.

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Willis Knapp Jones, *Estevanillo González*, New York, Paris, 1929. (Extrait de la *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 77, pp. 201-245).

As a contribution toward the understanding of a little known picaresque novel dealing with the beginnings of the decadent period, this monograph is to be commended. The author deserves credit for bringing to light again a neglected work, about which erroneous ideas are still to be found in the manuals of Spanish literature, and of whose importance critics have never formed a satisfactory opinion. Professor Jones' work is an excerpt from his doctoral dissertation (Chicago University) which won the *La Prensa* prize for 1929. A line by line commentary, including notation of some seven hundred errors in the *B. A. E.* edition, has been excluded, as well as a table of dating and an index of historical personages.

The author of the novel was a soldier-vagabond whose later days were spent in the service of General Octavo Piccolomini, prominent in the Thirty Years' War. The narrative itself is an account of Estevanillo's picaresque life as soldier, camp follower, despatch bearer and court jester from about 1621 to 1646.

Dr. Jones establishes the Brussels, 1646 edition as the *princeps*, and lists other Spanish editions, to which might be added that of Barcelona, 1894, cited by Palau y Dulcet (*Manual*, Vol. 3, p. 161). Since the publication of the thesis a reprint has appeared: Madrid, Aguilar, 1929 (*Colección de autores regocijados*). There follows a

discussion of Le Sage's romance based upon Estevanillo, in which Dr. Jones proves that some of the borrowings were likewise used in *Gil Blas*. He has, however, omitted several editions and translations which show the influence of the novel.¹

Chapter Two of the monograph sets forth to prove the novel an autobiography by the use of internal evidence. The plotless, meandering construction, the slangy and at times ungrammatical style, the wealth of minor incident and color all point to the account of an eye witness such as the clownish, semi-educated, rough and ready camp follower. The fact remains, though, that we do not have definitive proof of the existence of a real Estevanillo González. This name might easily be a pseudonym.² Since documentary evidence is absent in this study, one wonders to what extent the archives of the Piccolomini campaign have been searched for historical information. E. Gossart quotes a document of 1638, *Le Siège du Catelet par l'armée française*, in which there is mention of a buffoon dressed in Piccolomini's blue and silver livery.³

The third chapter is concerned with the question: Was Estevanillo a Jew? This rather lengthy discussion seems a bit strained. There are arguments on both sides which very nearly balance. Estevanillo states that his father moved the family to Rome at a time when the Jews were being persecuted. Moreover he seems to show Jewish traits in his bargainings, yet the fact that much of the story is the fabrication of a jester would nullify this. Furthermore we have at least one flat denial of Jewish blood by the writer himself. All of which forces Dr. Jones to leave the question standing.

In the fourth chapter the author has taken considerable pains to prove the exact date of Estevanillo's birth. By paralleling the history of 1621 as written by Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses with the same period in the novel, the time of the expedition upon which Estevanillo set out is established and the date of his birth is shown to be September, 1608. The key to this whole procedure is to be found, however, in a footnote of the previously mentioned work of Gossart (p. 253). It is regrettable that Dr. Jones did not utilize his line by line commentary in a comparison of historical documents and Estevanillo's narrative instead of enlarging on the facts as stated by Gossart. As it is, he devotes his last chapter to a chronological summary of Estevanillo's life.

¹ The following were published in Paris: Musier fils, 1735; *idem*, 1737; Prault, 1763; *idem*, 1765; *idem*, 1767. Lesage's version of *Estevanillo* was also included in his *Œuvres choisies*, Vol. X, Amsterdam, 1783. Besides, there were Russian translations in 1765 and 1766; a Danish translation, Copenhagen, 1801; an Italian translation, Venice, 1754. (Cf. Cordier, *Essai bibliographique sur les Œuvres d'Alain René LeSage*, Paris, 1910). Another early English translation was made for J. Woodward, London, 1709. (Cf. Esdaile, *A List of Prose Romances Printed Before 1740*, London, 1912).

² In a contemporary history reference is made to a despatch bearer, Esteban Gamarra, who was attached to Piccolomini's staff. The following is taken from an account of the year 1639 which coincides with the activities of Estevanillo: "Unos echaban la culpa de la tardanza de Piccolomini a lo mal que había corrido la posta Gamarra." (Cf. Lorenzo de Cevallos y Arce, *Varias relaciones de los Estados de Flandes*, ed. by the Marqués de la Fuensanta and José Sancho Rayón, Madrid, 1880, p. 224).

³ Cf. *Les Espagnoles en Flandre*, Paris, 1914, p. 252. The same author had previously published part of this material in an article entitled, "Estevanillo Gonzalez, un buffon espagnol dans les Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle," *Revue de Belgique*, 1893.

Such a novel, which, despite its poor construction and style, has been plagiarized, translated into various languages and repeatedly reëdited, must have had considerable influence on subsequent fiction. Although this influence may not be traced directly beyond Le Sage, it seems that a study of its relation to the picaresque novel in other literatures would have enhanced the value of the dissertation. Rausse has discussed a possible connection with Grimmelshausen (cf. *Zur Geschichte des Spanischen Schelmenromans in Deutschland*, Münster, 1908, pp. 106-7), and Chandler cites an incident found in *The English Rogue*, (cf. *The Literature of Roguery*, I, 216).

Yet another angle of interest lies in the importance of Estevanillo's portrayal of soldier life in the period of Spain's decadence. Julio Monreal cites the book time after time in his *Cuadros viejos*, describing army life in the early seventeenth century.

A complete study of Spanish contributions to the novel is lacking as yet; but in view of the bibliographical research now being made, and an awakening interest in comparative literature, it is likely that *Estevanillo González* will receive further attention. Dr. Jones' study will attract and interest students of the *siglo de oro*, which is a service of merit, since this period presents many problems worthy of investigation.

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Altha Elizabeth Terry, *Jeanne d'Arc in Periodical Literature 1894-1929 with special reference to Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan," A Bibliography*, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., New York, 1930, 127 pp.

The transient literature of the magazines when so reviewed over a period of thirty-five years shows in a striking fashion how spontaneous is the ever recurring interest in the personality of Jeanne d'Arc. Any event of current interest such as the unveiling of a statue or monument, a celebration in her honor, the performance of a play or motion picture, the publication of a book is quick to call forth all sorts of information about the well known events of her life as well as much interesting and significant speculation about such facts as are still disputable or conjecturable. To a certain extent, at least, this bibliography is a mirror of the times for, in its very approach to the subject, each succeeding period reveals its own predominating interests and ideas.

Although the author says that the work is neither selective nor exhaustive, it covers a surprisingly large and varied field of current periodical literature including both general and provincial French magazines, English, American, German, Dutch, Scandinavian, Spanish, Cuban and Italian periodicals, ranging from the popular to the most technical variety. Among the latter are journals of art, archaeology, medicine, psychology, theosophy, spiritualism, law, politics, the drama, ecclesiastical questions, etc. Very valuable is the presentation of the discussion of various debatable points taken at different periods from *Notes and Queries* and *l'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux*, important sources which are so seldom brought to the attention of the general public. This bibliography extends from the publication of Lanéry d'Arc's monumental *Livre d'Or de Jeanne d'Arc* in 1894 through the first quarter of the year 1929 and includes articles and book reviews from the above mentioned periodicals and from the magazine sections of the *London Times* and of certain New York newspapers.

The interest centers about the beatification, the canonization, the important celebrations early in the century and since the war and Jeanne d'Arc's place in contemporary art, poetry, fiction and the theater.

In a general section are treated all such personal matters as,—the ennobling of her family, their coat of arms, her relatives and descendants, her home, her name, her province, her childhood, the voices, certain companions of her career, her importance in the Great War, etc.

In art, the chief interest is in Anne Vaughn Hyatt's statue and some of the French monuments. Among prose works Anatole France's *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* arouses the most interest and opposition, while the best poems are Péguy's *La tapisserie de Sainte Geneviève et de Jeanne d'Arc* and *La mystère de la charité de Jeanne d'Arc*. Her rôle in old English literature and in modern English and German literature is indicated.

The most significant events in the theater are the performances of,—Amelia Bingham, Sarah Bernhardt, Julia Marlowe in Percy Mackaye's *Jeanne d'Arc*, Maude Adams in Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans*, Raymond Rôze's opera, *Joan of Arc* at the Covent Garden 1913, Eva Le Gallienne in Mercedes de Acosta's *Jeanne d'Arc* and most important of all, Shaw's *Saint Joan* which inspired the greatest number of articles, 124 in all.

To produce so well organized a work in a field as difficult to handle as that of periodical literature is no small achievement and surely all those interested in this and related subjects feel greatly indebted to Miss Terry for the skill and untiring patience which produced this valuable and most interesting bibliography.

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Denis Diderot, *Lettres à Sophie Volland*. Texte en grande partie inédit, publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits originaux avec une introduction, des variantes et des notes par André Babelon, Paris, Librairie Gallimard, 1930, 3 vols.

To his contemporaries Diderot was above all others the *philosophe*, the colossus that had brought into existence the great *Encyclopédie*. To-day he is remembered as the author of the *Neveu de Rameau*, *le Rêve de D'Alembert* and other works which, except to a privileged few, were unknown during his life. The success of the *Encyclopédie*, coupled with the generosity of Catherine II, made him an independent man. Moreover, like many of his coevals, he had experienced the disagreeable consequences of ill-considered publications. A few months in prison had chastened not a little his daring. He had no desire, either, to compromise the publication of the *Encyclopédie* to which he devoted all his energies. In 1777, at a moment when there was a project on foot to bring out a complete edition of his works at Amsterdam, he wrote: "L'intolérance augmente de jour en jour. Bientôt on n'y imprimera avec privilège que des almanachs et que le *Pater* avec corrections." In the meanwhile the manuscripts piled up on his desk, occasionally taken to the *cénacle* at Grandval or to the rue Royale where they discreetly passed from hand to hand. Copies were made of this or that work, for Grimm or Mlle Volland, with and without the author's permission. Thus at the time of his death, manuscripts and copies of Diderot's works were fairly common. But there were three large and important collections of such works. First, Naigeon's, whom Diderot had appointed his literary executor before leaving for Russia; secondly, the copies sent to Catherine with Diderot's library; and, finally, the manuscripts and copies inherited by Diderot's daughter, Mme Vandeuil. It is in this last collection, still in the possession of Diderot's descendants, that the letters to Sophie Volland figure.¹

¹ These details are taken from J. Viktor Johansson's book, *Études sur Diderot*, Göteborg, 1927. Mr. Johansson, who has studied with care the Diderot MSS.

Now for the first time these letters are published in their entirety from the original manuscripts by M. A. Babelon. In his introduction M. Babelon states that the previous editions of the letters were taken from bowdlerised copies; that in addition to the Leningrad copy, which Tourneux reproduces, he has uncovered a new copy, intermediate between the original and the copy sent to Catherine. This new copy contains all the letters in the manuscripts, except one, and has been corrected by M. Vandeul who, in many instances, has added passages which do not appear in the manuscript but which, M. Babelon believes, were taken from original letters subsequently destroyed. These passages are given in the appendix. The editor does not believe that a duplicate copy of the letters existed, since Diderot himself declares that he did not keep duplicates. It is still possible that Sophie did. She left the correspondence to a friend who in turn gave it to Mme Vandeul. It is evident from corrections in Diderot's hand that he saw the letters again before his death. In all there are fifty-one letters hitherto unpublished, as well as inedited fragments. The text has been rearranged throughout, proper names and passages formerly omitted have been restored. We can now feel certain that all that remains of this precious correspondence is in its definitive form. Let us hope that its publication has inaugurated that of the other Diderot documents which, we are led to believe, are considerable.

The works of Diderot have been described as a monumental fragment. That his letters to Sophie Volland share this fate is no fault of Diderot's. That spirit which Sir Sidney Lee describes as "domestic partiality" has destroyed all those letters which dealt with the first years of the friendship, probably the most passionate and interesting as a record of Diderot's life. Thus, from their first meeting to the time when the letters before us begin,—approximately three years,—all is black to us. (There are occasional references in the later letters to a "petite table verte," but where the table was is a mystery). This meeting took place in 1756. Diderot was then forty-three, Sophie about forty. Little is known about her family apart from the fact that it was once well-off, but that reverses of fortune had reduced it to a state of genteel poverty, forcing Mme Volland and her daughter to live a great part of the year in the country. Diderot chafed against the forced absences of his "chère amie" from Paris. Sophie's mother, who at first was perhaps overindulgent, became more and more despotic as the family fortunes declined—the severity of one's virtue was often in inverse ratio to one's income in the 18th century—and Diderot's antipathy to the mother is outspoken at this period. After a while Diderot seems to resign himself to his fate, and his relations with Mme Volland likewise become more cordial. She is henceforth "la chère maman." Six months every year then Mme Volland kept her daughter at their country estate at Isle near Vitry-le-François, and it is to these sojourns in the country that we owe, in part at least, their correspondence. In the summer of 1756 Sophie was still in Paris, living with her mother in the rue des Vieux Augustins. Diderot's official visits were on Thursdays and Sundays. But there were also secret calls without the knowledge of the mother by means of a "petit escalier." The lover's ruse was finally discovered, however, when they were surprised by Mme Volland: "Nous restâmes debout, Sophie et moi. Sa mère ouvrit un secrétaire, prit un papier et s'en retourna; depuis on parle d'aller à la terre et cette fois l'enfant est de voyage." The separation, for a time postponed, at last came in

in Leningrad, states that the original letters to Sophie Volland are in the hands of the Baron le Vasseur. For reasons best known to himself, M. Babelon does not reveal the provenance of the letters.

August 1760, and from this date until 1774 their correspondence is fairly uninterrupted, although all their letters are far from being extant.

Opinion is divided as to the nature of the liaison. Certain passages (III, 99) would indicate that their friendship was platonic, a *ménage à correspondance*, as Sainte-Beuve called it. In view of the loss of the early letters it is difficult to determine its character, and one can only make conjectures. Everything points to an intellectual friendship. We gather that Sophie was not a beauty; she wore glasses, had "*la menotte sèche*," and was often in poor health. But she was a woman of superior intelligence whose judgment Diderot sought and valued. There was even something of the blue-stocking about her: "D'où vous vient," asks Grimm, "cette passion de la philosophie, inconnue aux personnages de votre sexe et de votre âge." Others saw in her the same merits; M. de Villeneuve says to Diderot: "Elle a de l'esprit comme un démon. Elle a beaucoup d'esprit, mais c'est sa franchise qui me plaît." The names of two other sisters frequently recur in the letters: Mme de Salignac, who changed her name to de Blacy after the fraudulent bankruptcy of her husband, and Mme Legendre. The latter was, according to Diderot, something of a coquette. His suspicions were aroused even for a time as to the innocence of the love between Sophie and Mme Legendre. "Je suis honteux de ce qui se passe en moi, mais je ne saurais l'empêcher. Madame votre mère prétend que votre sœur aime les femmes aimables, et il est sûr qu'elle vous aime beaucoup; et puis cette religieuse pour qui elle a eu tant de goût." Here again Diderot's sentiments underwent a change; many of the later letters are addressed to both sisters. Each had a place in his life and affections. "Quand je disais des choses justes, sensées, réfléchies c'est vous qui m'écoutez. Quand je disais des choses douces, hautes, pathétiques, pleines de verve, de sentiment et d'enthousiasme c'est elle que je regardais."

But there is more in these letters,—justly praised as moving love letters, yet so different, and for reasons, from the *Lettres portugaises*,—for in them, as Diderot himself says, is a "histoire vraie de la vie." "J'exécute sans m'en apercevoir ce que j'ai désiré cent fois." He has recorded for us in this intimate journal, with all the variations of his changeable temperament, the life about him. We follow him on his trip to Langres to settle his father's estate and the endless quarrel between his sister, "Diogène femelle," and his brother the abbé, "sorte d'Héraclite chrétien." We follow him on his visits to the Baron d'Holbach at Grandval where one was so much at home and where the company, if somewhat mixed, was nevertheless representative of so many of the tendencies of a society that was to bring about its own destruction. What a group! The hostess, Mme d'Aine, whose *gauloiseries* threw everybody into peals of laughter; the melancholy Scotsman, le père Hoop, who thought that life was a pretty sorry thing; the abbé Galiani with his endless stock of stories; the Baron, "satyre gai, piquant, indécant, nerveux"; and the charming Mme d'Houdetot, who would become intoxicated on the white wine that Diderot drank for her. And when Diderot tired of the company he would withdraw to his room to read his favorite Horace, or, if the weather was good, he would take a walk in the gardens, admiring the skill of their architect and telling Sophie, in his next letter, how wonderful it was to see Nature's glories. But best of all is the unforgettable picture of the man. In spite of his crudities he is lovable: "Quelles que soient nos opinions, on a toujours des mœurs quand on passe les trois quarts de sa vie à étudier."

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Francis de Miomandre, *Vie du Sage Prospéro*, Paris, Plon, 1930, 216 pp.

Prospero and Caliban belong among those literary heroes who seem to have escaped, so to speak, from the dreamland of letters and to have acquired existence in the flesh. These literary characters are endowed with such a vitality that they seem to us more real, and even more historically true, than many a historical figure which to us remains but a vague outline fading away into the discolored tapestries of some medieval hall. For all we know, Don Quijote may actually have lived (and Unamuno affirms he did . . .), or, if he had lived, our record of him could hardly have been more complete. As it stands, we know more about him,—about his psychology, heroism, philosophy, madness and remote intentions,—than we know about Dante, Molière or Cervantes himself. Moreover, as a truly living hero, endowed with a plastic soul, he has kept on changing and evolving after the *Anno Domini* in which Cervantes stopped chronicling his deeds. We find testimonial of his many transformations in later books and studies which show him to be disconcertingly protean and for ever changing. . . . His very features have been likened by critics now to those of Harlequin, then to those of Plato, now to those of Orlando Furioso, then to those of Christ. . . . And there is Hamlet, who was to the Elizabethans a hero struggling with fate; to the Romanticists, a wounded Werther with a vacillating will and a diseased soul; to the Dilettanti of the 'Nineties, a contemplative esthetician bewitched by the spectacle of his own life as by a supreme drama. . . . And there is Thyl Eulenspiegel, who, from a rough and ready jester for the peasantry, evolved, in Charles De Coster's prose-epic, to his tragic rôle as the Liberator of Flanders. . . . In fiction or in criticism each generation reads a different meaning into the lives of these many heroes of the Dream. They seem reflected in strange transforming mirrors, in which a different, and yet the same face reappears, diversely hued at each turn of time.

And among them,—Ariel, Prospero, and Caliban. Since Shakespeare's fantastic *Tempest* liberated him, Ariel has become more and more kin to Uriel, the angel of light. He has become the symbol of the poetic spirit, of winged Mind that is lightning and inspiration. Rodó has proclaimed him the invisible leader of the "América fragante de Cristóbal Colón." And, opposed to Ariel, as a devil of darkness, Caliban has become identified with all that is barbaric, opaque, gross and earthly in humanity. Renan in his *Caliban* (1878) and his *L'Eau de Jouvence* (1880) transformed him into the representative of the enemies of the spirit, of beauty, of poetry, of knowledge,—into the political leader of a grossly material bourgeois-democracy. He is that half-human monster,—the mob that crucified Christ, poisoned Socrates, and burned Giordano Bruno; he represents that fundamental barbarism that drives the mass to murder the dreamers who came to it with an all-embracing love. And the innumerable legion of those who in all times smothered the creative artist under the combined weight of their stupidity, of those who persecuted the thinkers, hunted down the non-conformists, and slowly racked the life out of intellectual aristocrats,—they are the eternal legion of Caliban, the enemy of light.

Caliban has become wily and ambitious. Renan showed him seated proudly on Prospero's throne, sleeping gleefully in Prospero's bed,—and concluding alliances with the Inquisition and the army to consolidate his power. He sits in a thousand disguises in the councils of the mighty, he leads to wars and massacres, he reduces politics to the lowest self-seeking, knowledge to innocuous pedantry, religion to mere formalism, and art to the best-seller. He has killed Ariel,—the winged mind that creates new culture,—he has enslaved Prospero, the intellectual, who strove for

wisdom and beauty, but who did not have the power to impose his standards. With Renan Caliban symbolized the release of the fundamental barbarian, rather than democracy as such. Others did not look upon Caliban's onrush with the same dismay; Émile Bergerat, in his *Vie et aventures de Caliban* (1886), amused himself good-humoredly with his elephantine gracefulness in the intellectual realm. And recently Jean Guéhenno has written a pathetic defense, *Caliban parle . . .* (1928), a moving appeal of the poor man for his right to culture and intellectual development. But to Renan Caliban was not the poor man, but the enemy of mind and civilization, whatever his fortune, his station, his decorations or his power. He depicts him seated on the imperial throne, or as a dictator,—and yet profoundly uncivilized.

Francis de Miomandre has carried on the Prospero-Caliban myth beyond the point where Renan and his successors had left it, but without adding much to the symbolical significance it has acquired. Here Prospero, the searcher for justice and wisdom, is dethroned by his brother Antonio, an artful and cruel diplomat, who has reconciled Caliban by gross flattery and has made him his prime minister, although he himself governs his simplistic, brutish and fearful soul with a Machiavellian dexterity. Antonio is the dictator who reigns supreme "in the sacred name of the People,"—but leads this people around as Heine's dancing bear was led, by the ring that pierces its snout. All the heroes and the true artists are banished from Prospero's former kingdom, even Hamlet, who has renounced his revenge to become a playwright and who has transposed his sufferings and doubts into art. (We should note that this conception of Hamlet is a direct reminiscence of Jules Laforgue's *Hamlet ou les suites de la piété filiale . . .*). Prospero himself abdicates and withdraws to Egypt where he finds, at last, the long-coveted wisdom in his love for the eternal Cleopatra, who comes to him from the undying past, in the glory of her eternal beauty. But,—abyss calls to abyss,—and his wisdom-love leads to the supreme fulfillment of death. He dies consoled of all earthly woe, in the ecstasy of the celestial murmurings of the harps of Ariel's legions, cradled by the rhythm of all earthly beauty, that weaves around him, imperceptibly, like a dew of light. . . .

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DISCOVERIES IN THE GUICCIARDINI ARCHIVES

The attention of scholars in Florence, as of those everywhere whose main interests center in Italian political literature of the Renaissance, has been directed for some time to the *Archive* of Count Paolo Guicciardini, a descendant of the great historian and politician Francesco Guicciardini. It is doubtless superfluous to recall the latter's classic *Storia d'Italia*, or to emphasize that after Machiavelli he holds, especially in the opinion of Italians, one of the highest places among the nation's contributors to political and historical science. Such facts serve only to indicate with greater clarity the value of the Guicciardini *Archive*, always known to contain a large number of the historian's original manuscripts, and to underscore the importance of the discoveries made in the course of a systematic investigation of these papers by the Marchese Roberto Ridolfi, member of the Superior Council of Archives of Italy and a scholar of merit.

That a new examination of the Guicciardini *Archive* has been proceeding throughout the last two years will be no news to specialists, but only the recent completion of this painstaking work permits a preliminary estimate of its general accomplishment and of the plans now in view for publication of the newly found materials. Last

spring Count Guicciardini established and generously opened to students a room in the ancestral palace of his family for the consultation of the *Archive*, the greater part of which is housed in a large adjoining room; and Dr. Antonio Gigli, whose abilities as archivist are deeply appreciated by all who visit the *sala di studio*, is at present in charge of the papers. With the completion of the inventory by the Marchese Ridolfi and the modern systematization of the material, this *Archive* becomes an instrument of the highest value to Italian literary and political studies. The inventory has been printed serially in the review *Bibliofilia*, issued in Florence by Comm. Leo S. Olschki, the well-known bibliophile and editor; with corrections and additions it will be published in final form at an early date. Thus to scholars will become available an accurate list of many extraordinary items both known and unknown; for the moment let it suffice to note the discoveries of which it will furnish a more precise description.

* * *

Without entering into any detailed survey of the history of the revival of interest in Guicciardini and his work, one may recall that the historian was first revealed to the world in his full stature by the edition of the *Opere inedite* made by Canestrini in 1857-67 (Barbèra, Bianchi). That edition has since been subjected to well merited criticism, even though it did perform a preliminary service that perhaps could not have been rendered otherwise. Indeed, almost all the possible objections of modern scholarship to careless or arbitrary work have been levelled at it, and the need has become more and more apparent for its material to be checked and reorganized with accuracy. A beginning was made in this direction by Alessandro Gherardi with his new edition of the *Storia d'Italia* in 1919, and by Pancrazi with that of the *Ricordi*. A new edition of all the works has been begun by the house of Laterza (Bari); the *Storia d'Italia*, already published under the editorship of Panigada, forms the first of the series, now being continued under the capable direction of Professor Roberto Palmarocchi.

Meanwhile, an exhaustive examination of the *Archive* itself has brought important results. The systematization was begun by Gherardi but was cut short by his death; it has since been admirably completed by the Marchese Ridolfi. In certain of his notes Gherardi indicated a series of unpublished *Ricordanze* of Guicciardini; this was the first of the discoveries. With his habitual carelessness, Canestrini had published only a first part of the *Ricordanze* in the *Opere inedite*, those running to December, 1515. The historian, absent from Florence eleven years ("per lo essere stato undici anni continui fuori"), suspended his notes for that period, but took them up again in July, 1527. The new *Ricordanze* run, thus, from the latter date to the first of 1528, embracing also the preceding years of absence and activity, some of the most noteworthy of his career. They have now been issued by Count Paolo Guicciardini in a handsome edition (*Ricordanze inedite di Francesco Guicciardini*, Firenze, LeMonnier, 1930, L. 25) and provide a foretaste of what the unpublished documents of the *Archive* contain.

The Marchese Ridolfi gave undivided attention to the work left undone by Gherardi, and the consequence of his researches is the discovery of three other unpublished works of Guicciardini. He found, in brief, a set of important "*Discorsi politici*," which Guicciardini seemingly intended to insert in a history of Florence that he had planned; a *Diary* of his trip in Spain, separate from the well-known writings connected with the same period; and a large *History of Florence* from 1375 on (but really from the origins, if the preface be included). The latter is quite distinct from the juvenile history of Florence found and published by Canestrini in the *Opere*

inedite. Guicciardini left it incomplete: parts are already drafted, parts sketched out for later writing, and parts merely forecast by preparatory collections of historical sources and notes. In addition, valuable files of personal and official letters came to light.

The work accomplished by the Marchese Ridolfi acquires a special relief from the fact that these important and lengthy manuscripts went unremarked by those who could surely have been expected to take account of them long since. Totally neglected by Canestrini as far as his edition of the *Opere inedite* is concerned, they seem to have been passed over also by Professor Pasquale Villari, who had access to the *Archive*, and largely too by Gherardi. Most remarkably André Otetea, whose work on Guicciardini (*François Guichardin; sa vie publique et sa pensée politique*, Paris, 1926) is the latest monograph on the subject, worked among these papers but brought to us no news of the items recently identified. Otetea did, of course, issue some of the unpublished letters of Guicciardini (*Lettere inedite di Francesco Guicciardini a Bartolommeo Lanfredini. Dall'assedio di Firenze al secondo convegno di Clemente VII e di Carlo V*, Aquila, Vecchione, 1926, 1 vol. in 8°) but even this effort does not answer the modern requisite of integral publication. The few letters selected from the correspondence of the historian which the same author prints in the appendix to the monograph noted above are likewise no adequate presentation of material as important for its content as for its position in time and circumstance.

The discoveries of original works of Guicciardini and of valuable files of his correspondence are due, therefore, solely to the method and persistence of the Marchese Ridolfi. From the beginning the *Archive* has been arbitrarily or thoughtlessly mishandled by its would-be archivists. After long passing for authoritative formulations, errors are now being revealed and corrected by more recent scholarship. The rechecking process, of course, is bound to be long and arduous. Thus the inventory marks a new phase in the study of Guicciardini and in the criticism of his writings, and opens a large field for further effort, since the evaluations of the historian accepted at present are subjected once again to revision in the light of the new evidence upon his life and work.

* * *

It will be some time before the newly found manuscripts can be made available for general use. A considerable amount of work, of course, must still be completed to prepare them for publication. The further study of the documents will doubtless expand this labor in other directions. For example, the Marchese Ridolfi is at present concerned with an examination of the sources of the *Storia d'Italia*, and he has in view a study on this subject. The newly found *History of Florence* indicates that Guicciardini nourished the project of writing a work upon his native city which he wished to execute along the same lines of accuracy and fullness that characterize the *Storia d'Italia*. The *History of Florence* is in every stage of composition; the process by which an organic literary product rises from a miscellaneous agglomeration of sources, notes, and plans through the controlling and fusing mind of the author is there illustrated to perfection. Thus the detailed study of it is expected to throw light upon the *methods* employed by Guicciardini in writing not only this, but the great *Storia d'Italia* as well.

In accordance with his view of its primary value, the Marchese Ridolfi hopes to publish first of all this fragmentary *History of Florence*. Count Paolo Guicciardini will undertake the publication, I am informed, of a new "regesto delle pergamene" of the *Archive*, a work likewise needed to complete the modern systematization.

Later the "*Discorsi politici*" and the *Diary* of the historian's Spanish travels will be issued. Unfortunately several years will probably elapse before this program can be carried to its conclusion, for both scholars concerned are engaged upon numerous other projects of importance. Perhaps it is well to recall that the Marchese Ridolfi intends also to publish those letters of Donato Giannotti which he discovered in the British Museum, and that he is now engaged upon his two-volume work, *Archivi delle private famiglie fiorentine*, the first definitive work on the subject. In addition, this young Tuscan scholar is preparing the *Epistolario* of Savonarola, to which numerous unpublished letters, likewise from the Guicciardini *Archive*, are to be added. Lastly, he expects to issue a new three-volume edition of all the works of Giannotti, another contribution to studies in political literature of which the need has long been urgent.

P. H. HARRIS

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FRENCH BOOK NOTES

G. L. van Roosbroeck, *The Unpublished Poems of the Marquis de la Fare (1644-1712)*. Second Edition, N. Y., Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1930, 99 pp.

With sympathy and perspicacity Professor van Roosbroeck outlines here the importance of this minor figure of the seventeenth century, who is nevertheless one of the major precursors of the Century of the Philosophers. With his friend Chaulieu he was one of the most representative poets of the Société du Temple; and one who has helped to mould the earlier deistic poetry of Voltaire. This "amiable Epicurean," this delightful libertine-sceptic, was an ancestor of the later *Philosophes*: before 1700 he proclaimed the primitive goodness of man, advocated tolerance, expounded Natural Religion and thus became one of the precursors of the later deistic movement. But his ideas were too unorthodox, too unrestrained to be published without "courting the Bastille," and therefore his poetry remained in manuscript. It was circulated freely "sous le manteau," but it did not settle down into print until much later, and then only in part. Yet not only does de la Fare deserve remembrance for his philosophic ideas, but for his agreeable minor verse as well. Again here he bequeathed a considerable heritage to the eighteenth-century "*badinage*," while historically he stands out among his contemporaries as one of the leaders in the revival of the manner of Clément Marot. This erudite study on de la Fare and the edition of his unpublished poems are important for an understanding of the *Philosophes* and their origins, as well as for an insight into the lighter courtly verse of the eighteenth century.

A. BENSON

NEW YORK

Ernest Seillière, *La Religion Romantique et ses Conquêtes*, Paris, Champion, 1930, 340 pp.

Five chapters of this work are devoted to a study of conditions in America. Baron Seillière presents only the bare evidence, but that in great detail. He quotes at length from the letters of a friend, a very distinguished friend, it seems, probably even a member of the Institute of France. In any case, we are assured that he is a Frenchman, that he has recently been visiting in the United States, and that he is a very conscientious observer. He reports that there is in our country "no intelligence, no honor and no honesty," that we have set about to "enslave the world," but that fortunately our "efforts to create an American civilization" have failed, and we are

already marching toward catastrophe. As to the sex-morality of the Great Republic, our informant (and M. Seillière assures us that he is quite "perspicacious") is able to define it elegantly as "an attenuated but general promiscuity." In order to reconcile himself to the new America, a Frenchman would have to consent to such a "displacement of moral values" as would be quite impossible to those who cherish the fruits of Christianity and the civilized tradition.

The Baron is deeply concerned not only with American life, but also with the more serious efforts of contemporary American thought. The philosopher to whom he devotes the longest chapter in the present volume is Mr. Henry Ford.

PAUL C. SNODGRESS

PARIS, FRANCE

Norman L. Torrey, *Voltaire and the Enlightenment*, New York, F. S. Crofts Co., 1931, 97 pp.

N. L. Torrey's recent volume on *Voltaire and the English Deists*, as well as his several other studies on this forever provocative fighter for free thought and justice, has placed him in the front ranks of the *Voltaireistes*, who should be distinguished from the *Voltaireiens*. His sober, somewhat dry and precise, calmly documentary work contrasts with the exclamatory and anecdotal, or "witty," reworkings of known materials which are now passed off as "Lives of Voltaire" at the rate of three or four a year. His *Voltaire and the Enlightenment* is a general introduction to Voltaire's ideas, bolstered up by select translations, which show his sociology, his philosophic and religious thought first hand. Some of the wittiest and most effective pages of Voltaire, which are generally overlooked since they are hidden among his extensive *Miscellanies*, have been here translated, for instance, the *Relation of the . . . Death of the Jesuit Berthier*. I would have liked to find here another, the very short story of *Jeannot and Colin*, with its inimitable satire on the perennial subject of "practical education" and *l'art de plaire*. And his literary opinions might have been illustrated by a passage, for instance, of *Le Temple du Goût*. Yet in view of the general character of this "Introduction to Voltaire's Thought," these can hardly be called omissions. The booklet is precise and competent. It should prove of interest to the large public that has been told voluminously about Voltaire, but which reads very little of his irreplaceable writings.

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FAUSTO MARIA MARTINI, POET AND DRAMATIST (1886-1931)

IT is, indeed, regrettable to have to record that in the past year Italy has lost three major writers: First, Antonio Beltramelli, then, Umberto Fracchia, and now, Fausto Maria Martini. The latter expired the twelfth of April last. What intensifies the loss of the three is the prematurity of their disappearance—Martini and Fracchia were in their early forties, Beltramelli was fifty. Martini, be it recalled, was born in Rome where he was educated. Scarcely twenty he abandoned the study of law for a career in letters, producing in 1907 *Panem nostrum*, which signaled him out as a poet of talent. Thereafter his creations followed in short order, except for the lull caused by the World War. He served on the Italian front where he was wounded twice, the second time horribly. Though his recovery was miraculous, he did not escape partial incapacitation: he seemed inevitably marked out for premature death. He produced in the past decade some of his best works, among

which stands out *Ridi pagliacci!* (*Laugh, Clown, Laugh!*), a dramatic motif which was to be used subsequently as a genre by other authors. If our memory does not betray us, the late David Belasco staged Martini's play in New York in 1923 with Lionel Barrymore in the leading rôle. It had a signal success with some 450 performances.

And now, a word relative to Martini's art. Essentially, he was a poet. Endowed with fine sensibilities, his art was to reflect, perforce, a certain gentility. Primarily objective in his creations he was interested in portraying reality without high reliefs, anomalies, grotesques. Nor did his work ever display conscious artistic formulae. He was the chief exponent in Italy of the theatre of the "intimists," or theatre of the "poetic," which, according to recent definitions, is a theatre conceived along ordinary lines with exclusion made to the elaborate or the extraordinary. Its art lies in the portrayal of life in its "decorous normality." By "intimate" is meant a facile and faithful description of the characters and situations. To wit, the tableaux, the exterior emotions of the characters should be the principal leads to the public for its understanding of the problems as well as the interior motivation of the characters. Hence, it is hoped that the public will be engrossed from the outset and become an intimate part of the drama to be evolved. (For a detailed definition of this theatre see Camillo Pelizzi's *Le lettere italiane del nostro secolo: Si sbarca a New York (We Land in New York; Mondadori, Milan)*.) Martini's last contribution is a novel reminiscent of the days when he and a group of young men rallied about the poet, Sergio Corazzini. Unconsolable at the death of Corazzini this group, including Martini, ventured to America in quest of a change in atmosphere. Rich was their experience in this country, but certainly destitute of economic goods! It is fitting to tabulate herewith the bibliography of the other principal works of Martini:

POETRY—*Le piccole morte* (1906); *Poesie provinciali* (1910). NOVELS—*Verginità* (1921); *Il cuore che mi hai dato* (1925). SHORT STORIES—*La porta del paradiso* (1920); *La vetrina delle antichità* (1923); *I volti del figlio* (1928). THEATRE—*Il ritorno* (1911); *Il giglio nero* (1913); *Il fanciullo che cadde* (1914); *Aprile* (1917); *Il fiore sotto gli occhi* (1921); *L'altra Nanetta* (1923); *La facciata* (1924); *La sera del trenta* (1926); *Teatro breve* (1929). CRITICISM—*Cronache drammatiche* (3 vols., 1921-22; 1922-23; 1925-26). TRANSLATIONS—*Le prose di P. B. Shelley* (1906); *Bruges la morte di G. Rodenbach* (1907); *La lettera rossa (Scarlet Letter) di N. Hawthorne* (1931). The foregoing list has been compiled from the April 19th issue of *L'Italia letteraria* which contains also annotations of Martini's works translated into other languages. In conclusion we may state that Martini contributed much in the way of magazine and newspaper articles. He was for many years dramatic critic of the *Tribuna* and the *Giornale d'Italia*.

ITALIAN LITERARY QUARTERLY

LOOKING obliquely over the field of recent literary activity in Italy we signal out among works of prose Giuseppe Morpurgo's *Beati misericordes* (Lattes, Turin), a novel of sound composition. Excellently narrated, the novel's chief merits lie in spiritual and human values. It might be called a study in morality and humanity. Four beings are throttled in episodes where destiny plays at once the temptor, the soother, the crucifier. Its plot is spun on a four-cornered affair, with a poetic mother, an uncultured husband, and a sympathetic and tender lover to make up the unusual triangle. About this triangle an illegitimate son plays a

principal rôle. He is there to bolster up or countercheck the variable conducts; he furnishes spiritual fortitude to the other three whose lives have brought on affliction as well as despair. In the end even the son is troubled: he questions his religion, his office of priesthood—he is torn by doubt and humiliation. In the final episode it is the real father, the tender lover in the triangle, who shows the son a pathway out of a maze of conflicting opinions and illusions: "Padre nostro . . . Padre nostro che sei nei cieli. . . ." The book, withal, possesses a spiritual formula exemplified by these words: "you forget offense, you pardon everything, and you render good for evil." We must admit that the book is a trifle too long. It might have been condensed advantageously, yet the reviewer found the reading far from tedious.

Delfino Cinelli, among other contributions the past season, put out a novelty in *La carriera di Riccardo Bonòmini* (L'Eroica, Milan), a partially fictitious biography of Riccardo Bonòmini. It is built up in the form of a dialogue in which Bonòmini, the erudite, stands as an imaginary teacher and criterion for his pupil,—let us say Cinelli, himself. (Philosophical dialogues, to be sure, are not new.) Bonòmini, cosmopolitan, learned, chatty, is delineated here as a person endowed to the point of hypersensitivity as regards art and logic. He is all that an intellectual must be, and more,—an uncommon person, indeed, with a slight touch of anomaly. Super-saturated with philosophic observation, he entertains with chatter such as this:

"Che propio tutti si debba vivere al contrario di quel che si vorrebbe, che poi è come si dovrebbe? Che non si debba saperlo, ancora, che gli istinti ne sanno più di noi, da tanti mila secoli che li eritiamo? E noi si vuol ragionare; si vuol sempre ragionare, saperla più lunga della natura, anche quando Dio e la natura, che fanno tutt'uno, ci chiamano, ci avvertono. Ma noi non si sta a sentire. Ci si mette a discutere, con Dio. E con che vuoi che si riveli, Iddio, se non dà retta agli istinti?" Here is another example of his philosophical mood: "Il nuovo? Hai mai visto due forme uguali, nella natura? Due foglie, due sassi, uguali? E una forma che non te ne rammentasse un'altra, l'hai mai trovata? E chi sei tu che vorresti insegnare alla natura. Fare una forma nuova? Contentati di capirle: le forme ci son tutte. Anche della vitalità dei generi letterari dubitavo . . . coordinare le proprie osservazioni e deduzioni della vita, senza compicarle con la trama di un racconto; o altrimenti raccontar la propria vita, semplicemente; quel che si è visto, quel che si è pensato. . . ."

In later years poor Bonòmini is relegated to a sanatorium; this situation, far from being disquieting, serves only to bring the old gentleman closer to the author's heart. Logic mad, the teacher continues the patter on his beliefs and his anomalies while the disciple remains an intelligent listener and timely questioner. The book does not end here. Bonòmini is allowed to gain peace. He finds an atmosphere of beatitude in a monastery, where we see him carrying on the impersonal duties of a monk. Henceforth his vision must be more in the objective; there is no more danger of logic-intoxication. Here ends the biography of the master. May we now hope for the biography of the disciple? Our wish is that it be prepared in the same graceful style as the present volume. Though Cinelli is producing voluminously these days, he is, none the less, upholding the tradition established by his recent books, *Trappola* and *Castiglion che Dio sol sa*, which won the Mondadori Academy prize a few seasons ago.

Bruno Barilli has come to the fore through his prize-winning book (Premio Umberto Fracchia), *Il paese del melodramma* (G. Carabba, Lanciano), which the author composed on a scrap book while he attended operatic performances at a large metropolitan theatre. Barilli is neither young nor new in the world of letters.

He has been for years a music critic of note; his contributions in creative criticism have graced some of the finest journals in Italy. The success of the present volume may be attributed principally to Barilli's singular approach to criticism. In his case, criticism, if it can be detected at all, will be found intercalated between moods of the creative, the comic, the imaginative. The "country of melodrama" is Italy when the operatic art rose to its zenith, a generation or so ago. The book reveals a bit of nostalgia for the opera of yesteryear when it was art teeming with genius all around: for him the *teatro d'opera italiana* is "piccolo, odoroso, stagionato, sonoro, dorato e pieno tutto di genio fino al soffitto. . . ."

In *Mia vita, morte e miracoli* Massimo Bontempelli sets aside his paradoxical mood and jots down a series of reminiscences which deal abstractly or realistically with a few phases of his life. In these memoirs he appears to be at his sincerest. The pseudo-autobiographical episodes reveal a Bontempelli in a happy and facetious mood. He is not here the juggler of ideas and whims, the stylist, in short. The narration is straight-forward and entertaining; in jest he discloses seasonable observation. This volume marks the third in the series of *Romanzi Brevi*, attractively jacketed and edited by Alberto Stock of Rome.

A veritable avalanche of biographical writing on D'Annunzio has fallen upon the literary world. The chronicler is perplexed as to the justification of so much biography on the poet at the present moment. The remunerative reason can be of slight import, except in the event of the famous poet's death. Further conjecture would be beside the point; so let us say a few words with regard to two of these biographies. Angelo Sodini's *Ariel Armato* (Mondadori, Milan) is valuable for its factual and entertaining information. It was awarded the Enrico Garda prize of 50,000 lire. A disciple and admirer of D'Annunzio, Sodini has fallen into the inevitable by portraying the poet more or less at his best. Otherwise the material issues from first-hand sources. The other biography we wish to record is in English, *Gabriel the Archangel, A Life of Gabriele D'Annunzio* (Harcourt, Brace; New York) under the joint authorship of Federico Nardelli and Arthur Livingston. In this biography D'Annunzio is treated at his best and at his worst—he has his praise and his faying. The composition is set off in cursory style; the episodes appetizingly told. A biography can hardly ever be exhaustive, such defects are overcome by other merits. The one in question, for instance, has some new "slants" on the poet. Along present day formulae of biography this one leaves little to be desired.

In poetry two volumes come to our immediate attention: Ada Negri published *Vespertina* and Francesco Pastonchi, *I versetti*, both volumes handsomely and substantially gotten up by the editors Mondadori of Milan. The verses collected in *Vespertina* might be called prayers at eventide, for their spirituality, reflection, and resignation. The reviewer was impressed by the same sense of sincerity and loftiness which characterized the authoress's early poems in *Fatalità*. The hendecasyllabic metre seems to have been a happy choice as it gives architectonic unity to the whole book. There permeates throughout a mellow resignation reflecting the author's own life of usefulness and well-being:

"Tu che sei certa com'è certo il sole,
in qual giorno, in qual forma a me verrai?
T'aspetto, o morte; ma ti temo a un punto.
Scorgerò, sentirò la tua presenza
nell'ora a me prefissa, oppure i sensi
patimento e stanchezza avran sopiti?
So che natura gli uomini soccorre

nel passo oscuro, come già nel primo
uscir dal travaglio alvo materno:
nascita e morte son gemelle in Dio
. . . La bontà di Dio
discenderà sul mio morire. Calmo
sarà il mio trapasso: pari a un calmo sonno.
Mi sveglierò senza il mio corpo, in una
strada del cielo, incoronata d'astri.
E non più sofferenze e non memoria
né desiderio più. Pace soltanto."

The other volume of poems destined to decorate the 1931 season, Pastonchi's *I versetti*, derives its title from a Catullian motive, "scribens versiculos. . . ." It consists of varied verse, intimate or descriptive, with here and there an ever so light a note of sarcasm. Woman viewed from various aspects makes up the bulk of content matter as well as furnishes the book its leitmotif:

Una donna

"Incontrarti è un bene.
Scampi tu dallo scempio
di queste aride superfici
striate d'artifici
miseri. Attrai dal profondo
del tuo essere, che lo contiene,
un mondo, nuovo, più mondo
e più vero:
il solo anzi che è vero. . . .
Che è mai questa nostra vita,
dopo te svanita?
Un serrarsi e aprirsi di porte,
un'eco di fuggiti passi,
un silenzio, e poi . . . niente."

To close our discussion let us jot down a few notes on three plays at hand. First, we have Giannino Antona Traversi-Grismondi's *Le sale di Augia* (Augean Drawing Rooms; Mondadori, Milan), a dramatic satire on present day society. The play calls for a prologue by the director as a sort of warning that there is to be portrayed some prevalent social conditions which need as much cleansing as the Augean stables. The adjective he applies to these immoral, or amoral, social conducts is "putrid," or nothing short of it. Certainly the play is handled in a novel way, and is worthy of being staged in spite of its huge list of *dramatis personae*, impracticable from the point of view of modern stage craft. Sem Benelli furnishes the other two plays contained in one volume, *Eroi* and *Madre Regina* (Mondadori, Milan). *Eroi*, a war drama, sketches the fortitude of the private, Bonacchi, representative of thousands of others from all lands and all creeds. War with its filth, its suffering, its horror, is a lamentable background for so much heroism, so much fortitude. This play is to be added to the already swelling list of war dramas of which Sherriff's *Journey's End* tops the list. Lastly, we may say a word regarding *Madre Regina*, which is a play depicting a revolution and glorifying the inviolability of mother love. All else may collapse except this immortal instinct of love. The play presents its big moment in the scene where a group of revolutionists, aroused to bestiality, mowing down everything before them, stop suddenly before a mother suckling an infant, be she a princess or peasant. Maternity, *madre regina*, holds its incomparable sway.

O. A. BONTEMPO

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
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RUMANIAN BOOK NOTES

Sarina Cassvan, *Contes roumains d'écrivains contemporains*, Préface de la Comtesse de Noailles, Paris, Éditions de la "Revue Mondiale," 1931, 222 pp.

Sarina Cassvan is herself a Rumanian writer, and her thoughtfulness for the works of her colleagues is revealed in this collection. For each author she has very flattering and often very just remarks to introduce the well selected and well translated tales.

Naturally one cannot expect an exhaustive rendering of what is being produced at the present moment in the realm of Rumanian letters. The volume limits itself to prose writers, and particularly to the short story and sketch. The novel, poetry, theatre, essay, are not included. Thus the foreign reader gets a glimpse of only a small part of the contemporary literature of Rumania. Yet in spite of this fact, one experiences the same enthusiasm at the richness of this book, expressed in such feeling lines by Mme la Comtesse de Noailles, the French poetess of Rumanian ancestry:

"Les *Contes roumains* sont traduits par Mme Sarina Cassvan dans le français le plus séduisant comme le plus pur. Quelles que soient les qualités littéraires remarquables de la traductrice, cette perfection brillante du style témoigne du coloris, de l'agilité contenus dans le texte roumain. Toutes les nuances de la vie familière, laborieuse, toutes les gammes du rêve sont représentées par ces narrations successives, dont la variété même concourt à l'unité puissante et mélancolique. Songeries descriptives d'une exactitude aussi surprenante que ces dessins et peintures d'enfants dont l'œil sincère surprend et grossit les détails et suggère l'immatériel. Intrusion aussi de la violence, de la ruse, de l'hallucination poétique dans ces contes qui tiennent de la méditation et de la rafale. Lire ce recueil, c'est voyager au cœur même d'une contrée magnifique, c'est s'approcher de ce qu'il y a d'essentiel et de mystérieux dans un peuple: le diabolique et l'angélique."

Contes roumains includes the following writers: Tudor Arghezi, Ion Al. Brătescu-Voinesti, I. A. Bassarabescu, G. Brăescu, Jean-Bart, N. Davidescu, V. Demetrius, Victor Eftimiu, Galla Galaction, Octavian Goga, Ion Minulescu, Corneliu Moldovanu, Adrian Maniu, Gib. I. Mihaescu, D. D. Patrașcanu, Cesar Petrescu, Hortensia Papadat Bengescu, Liviu Rebreanu, Mihail Sadoveanu, Ionel Teodoranu, I. C. Visarion and Ion Vineu; to whom the translator would have liked to add Ion Agârbiceanu, C. Ardeleanu, Emanoil Bucușă, Ion Dongorozi, Lucia Mantu, Ticu Archip, Mușatescu and Alexandru Cazaban, but for lack of space and for the sake of the uniformity of the collection she was compelled to omit. We may remark that even if they were included, the number of talented prose writers of Rumania of to-day would not be exhausted.

D. I. Suchianu, *Curs de Cinematograf*, București, "Cultura Românească," 1931, 236 pp.

Professor D. I. Suchianu, lecturer at the University of Bucharest and well known essayist and publicist, tries, in his latest volume, to give a treatise of the aesthetics of the cinema. And he succeeds in offering an interesting account of his observations of American and European "talkies" and silent films, from which he infers that certain laws govern the creation of the art of the screen.

Professor Suchianu believes that the "movies" and "talkies" can render, more fittingly than any other artistic vehicle, the dream-like actions which usually create the best productions in this particular field, and he insists that only by building the film along these lines, will one accomplish the masterpiece. By introducing into the

cinema the legitimate play and the dramatized novel, one risks destroying the very essence of this recent art which possesses an æsthetic alphabet all its own.

Professor Suchianu is also emphatic in advocating the silent play which suits itself more to this youngest craft. Talking dispels dreams, but a certain number of natural noises, like the blowing of the wind, barking of dogs, rustling of trees, or peculiar words uttered at intense moments can be woven into the texture of the musical background which may accompany the action.

As long as the cinema keeps within its restricted grounds, the result will be the new accomplished art, impossible to be realized by the traditional forms of literature or fine arts.

LEON FERARU

LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY

ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

Salomay Lauderdale Harrison, *México Simpático, Tierra de Encantos*, N. Y., D. C. Heath & Co., 1929, pp. xiv + 264; Stuart E. Grummon and Alfredo de Noriega, Jr., *Tres Meses en México, A Spanish Conversational Reader*, N. Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, [1928], pp. xiii + 321.

These two readers on Mexico are a sign of the ever-growing interest in our closest Southern neighbor. They both dispel the romantic legends that have depicted the land across the Río Grande as a fantastic tropical wilderness where ragged revolutionists and lordly brigands gallop across the sun-parched plains; where the Wild West cinema sends the lawless villain to escape his deserved death; where the swarthy native, his piercing jet eyes hidden under a broad-brimmed "sombbrero," rests indolently in the mauve shadow of a white-walled villa.

Both these readers describe Mexico as it is: the real life of its people, its everyday customs, its relics of a remarkable ancient civilization. Notwithstanding the sobriety of actual fact however, and the discarding of all breath-taking fiction Mexico seems to lose none of its romantic charm on the closer acquaintance which these volumes so entertainingly afford. It beckons us with its suave and polished politeness, the heritage of century-old civilizations. Its picturesque customs have preserved a part of old-world Spain. But in contrast with these survivals, its modern literary and artistic productions rank it among the most active cultural countries of the present day.

México Simpático, Tierra de Encantos, may well be called a survey of Mexican civilization. Though never over-pedantic or coldly factual, it furnishes a substantial and well-documented account of the most salient characteristics of the land and the people. It is not an impersonal guide-book of "facts one ought to know." Its well-written pages are replete with the more intimate details of the social life of the Mexicans. We meet a gallery of types: the street vender, the wandering barber, the Mexican woman and her quaint courtship, the gallant cowboy,—the "charro,"—and his sweetheart, the attractive "china poblana." We attend their feast day celebrations, their amusements such as the game of hand-ball which they adopted from the Basques in Spain, and their colorful bullfights. It sketches the history of the nation, showing the superimposed layers of civilization which make it so unique in character: its Indian heritage, the coming of the Spanish "conquistadores," the struggle for independence, the pathetic episode of Emperor Maximilian and Carlota. It recounts the legendary adventures of its national hero, Benito Juárez, the "father

of Mexico." It describes the interesting sites that attract tourists: the Aztec Calendar of the Sun, the Pyramids, the Castle of Chapultepec, the "House of Tiles," besides many other unforgettable spots in the vicinity of Mexico City, such as the luxurious "Floating Gardens." Finally, a division is devoted to modern art, which has attracted much attention. Since Mexican artists endeavored to democratize art and to bring it to the people, some of the best examples are to be found in the striking fresco-paintings of the public buildings. The leader of this movement, Diego Ribera, has attempted to eternalize the primitive natives and typical scenes of Mexican life in his frescoes which adorn the Escuela de Agricultura of Chapingo; while José Clemente Orozco, more ideologically inclined, represents the mass movements of the world in the gigantic compositions in the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria.

Tres Meses en México, A Spanish Conversational Reader, stresses the grammatical and compositional aspect much more than the informative. But it also furnishes, at the occasion of a summer trip of two American students, a whole panorama of Mexican life. During their excursions, they visit the National Palace, the Cathedral of Mexico, the National Museum, the "Desierto de los Leones," not forgetting the Floating Gardens of Xochimilco, San Angel and its famous ruins, the world-renowned pyramids of San Juan, Cuernavaca permeated with historic memories of Hernán Cortés.

Both these readers are valuable as introductions to the civilization of the extensive Latin territory in America; they will stimulate a sympathetic curiosity in a rich Spanish culture that lies at our doors.

Spanish Fables. Edited by D. Rubio and H. C. Néel, [With Exercises Based on the Fables and Vocabulary], Illustrations by F. Marco, N. Y., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1930, pp. xiii + 138.

Very cleverly have the editors chosen these age-old repositories of worldly wisdom, lispied in sing-song by the youngest, pronounced in admonition by the mature, and enjoyed by every Spaniard, who from them unavoidably derives part of his education. Their rôle in literature has been succinctly but adequately reviewed by Dr. Rubio in the Introduction. They were already used to striking effect by the Arcipreste de Hita; in the Golden Age they offered suggestions to even the greatest dramatists who found occasion to introduce them into their works,—Lope de Vega, Calderón, Tirso de Molina; in the eighteenth century they became a *genre* by themselves, especially through the brilliant pen of an Iriarte or that of the more biting satiric Samaniego. They were aimed at every vice, and satirized every foible, whether of writers, rapacious rulers, or ordinary mortals. To these especially the fables spoke, and mercilessly disclosed their true nature, their hidden idiosyncrasies and defects, their underlying vanity and selfishness.

But the very simplicity of the anecdotes they embody as well as the conciseness of their form, the fundamental and perennial human truths which they cover under an amusing incident,—all of these qualities explain why fables have remained classics in miniature, and why they can be enjoyed by the sophisticated as well as the simple. Some that here appear in a Spanish disguise, are the favorites of the ages. We recognize, for instance, that of the castle-building milk-maid and her shattered dreams. Others retell old tales, as that of the peasant with his bag, half filled with his own vices and half with those of others, but carrying his burden so that he can see only other people's defects; that of the fox and the empty-headed bust; the more philosophical one of the optimistic butterfly and the pessimistic ant; that of the

donkey who by chance blew into a flute and proclaimed himself an accomplished musician. All those that the editors have selected from this rich treasury are equally diverting and revealing.

This carefully prepared volume is well suited to fill the need for poetry so often voiced by the Spanish teacher. The simplicity and directness of the style, as well as the lively and spirited subjects of these fables will attract the student, and prepare him for the more delicate and abstruse verses dedicated to "art for art's sake," in which Spanish literature is so rich, but which often remain forever inaccessible without a preliminary preparation in these simpler and more primitive forms.

Manuel Tamayo y Baus, *Una Apuesta* and *Huyendo del Perejil*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Direct-Method Exercises and Vocabulary by Cony Sturgis and J. C. Robinson, N. Y., Macmillan Co., 1930, pp. ix + 103.

How modern Tamayo y Baus remains in spite of the passing decades, is apparent from the clever one-act plays here edited for class use. *Una Apuesta*, so reminiscent of the French comedy, informally brings together an attractive young widow and a love-lorn admirer who has long been casting at her beseeching glances. At the first advances of the lady, however, he becomes a fast and insistent wooer. Boldly he wagers that he will win her within twenty-four hours, and truly feminine, she confesses defeat long before. The proverb-play, *Huyendo del Perejil*, offers a situation frequently resorted to in the *Género Chico*:—a father refuses to allow his son to marry the charming but impecunious lady of his choice. He is made to meet her as if by accident, is himself captivated by her graces, avows his love, only to be rebuffed. He learns that his son is already married, and is forced to admit his excellent taste.

Within the narrow frame of a single act, Tamayo y Baus thus shows himself at his best. He is obliged to omit the lengthy moralizing disputations and the tearful avowals of virtue which mar so many scenes in *Lo Positivo* and even intrude now and then in *Un Drama Nuevo*. Here his simple dramatic situation is developed to the full by the quick action, the sparing construction, the brilliant repartee, and the clever turn in the final solution. Both these playlets have stood the test of frequent successful representations among American students, and will now be more generally available to provide the same pleasant diversion, while at the same time their simple and natural dialogue will inspire confidence in the student, who cannot but understand them fully at an early stage of his studies.

BARBARA MATULKA

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE,
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

FACULTY NOTES

AMHERST COLLEGE, MASS. Clarence D. Rouillard, who has been spending the year abroad on a Belgian Fellowship, will return as Instructor in French for the year 1931-32. Prof. Ralph C. Williams is planning to spend his sabbatical leave next year in Paris. His *Bibliography of the Seventeenth-Century Novel in France* has recently been issued by the Modern Language Association.

ARIZONA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, FLAGSTAFF. The Dept. of Romanic Languages is composed of George Portnoff, Head, and Jessie Smith, Prof. of French.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, R. I. Robert H. Williams, Instructor in Spanish, who was awarded a fellowship by the American Council of Learned Societies,

will work in Spain on a critical bibliography of Spanish prose fiction of the 17th century.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON, D. C. The following dissertations may be mentioned as in preparation in the Dept. of Romance Languages: *La Vision Christine par Christine de Pisan*; Étienne Du Tronchet, *Auteur forésien du XVI^e siècle, Étude biographique et littéraire*; Edition of the *Miroir des Dames par Durand de Champagne*. The following Ph.D. dissertations have appeared in print: Sister M. H. Seiler, *Anne de Marquets, Poëtesse religieuse du XVI^e siècle*; Paul J. Ketrick, *The Relation of Golagros and Gawane to the Old French Perceval*.

CENTRAL COLLEGE, FAYETTE, MO. Frank L. Hager, Prof. of French and Spanish, has been granted a year's leave of absence, which will be spent in study in Europe. Helen McKinney, Assoc. Prof. of French, will also be absent on leave during the coming year.

COKER COLLEGE, HARTSVILLE, S. C. Valleria B. Grannis, Head of the Dept. of Modern Languages, was granted the Ph.D. degree at Columbia University on her dissertation, *Dramatic Parody in Eighteenth Century France*.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Otto Muller, of Gettysburg College, has been appointed Assoc. Professor; V. L. Dedek-Héry, previously head of the Dept. of Romance Languages at St. Teresa College, Winona, Minn., has been added to the staff as Asst. Professor. Starting in September, Prof. Félix Weill will be Executive of the faculty of Romance Languages. Dr. S. A. Rhodes, who received a grant from the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, will spend the coming year in France in research. *School of Business and Civic Administration*: Alfred Iacuzzi, Lecturer and Exec. of the Dept. of Romance Languages, recently obtained the Ph.D. degree at Columbia University on his dissertation, *The European Vogue of Favari's Plays*.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. In the Dept. of Italian, Giuseppe Prezzolini, who has been in temporary service at the Casa Italiana, was appointed Prof. of Italian and Director of the Casa. In the Dept. of French, Louis Cons, A.B., Lycée Ampère, 1896, Licence ès Lettres, Sorbonne, 1899, formerly at Swarthmore College, was appointed Prof. of French Literature and Director of the Maison Française. Edmond Faral, of the Collège de France, has been appointed Visiting French Professor for the Winter Session of 1931-32, and Mme Marie N. André, of Elmira College, was appointed assistant to the Director of the Maison Française. Mario Casella, of the University of Florence, will be Visiting Professor of Italian for the Winter Session. Among others, the following dissertations are in preparation: Silas P. Jones, *Bibliography of the Eighteenth Century Novel*; Ruth M. Chapman, *Voltaire's Vogue in England in the Eighteenth Century*.

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C. The following additions to the Dept. of Romance Languages have been made: Dr. Irene Cornwell, of the University of Wisconsin; Sta. Raquel Ahumada, of Vassar College; and Dr. W. Phelps Thomas, of Johns Hopkins University. Prof. George N. Henning, Dean of the Graduate School, will be on sabbatical leave in France.

GETTYSBURG COLLEGE, PA. Dr. Otto Muller, Head of the Dept. of Romance Languages, who resigned in order to become Assoc. Professor at the College of the City of New York has been succeeded by Dr. Albert Bachman, of the University of Arizona.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Francis P. Magoun, Jr., has been promoted from Asst. Prof. of English to Assoc. Prof. of Comparative Literature.

George B. Weston, Asst. Prof. of Romance Languages, has been advanced to Assoc. Professor. Isaac Goldberg, author and critic, who received his A.B. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard, will be Lecturer on Hispano-American Literature during the Spring of 1932.

HOBART COLLEGE, GENEVA, N. Y. Joseph F. Solano has been appointed Instructor in Spanish and French to fill the vacancy left by Mr. Merson, who has resigned.

HUNTER COLLEGE, N. Y. The following appointments have been made in the Dept. of Romance Languages: Roland Lebel, formerly at the Sorbonne, Lecturer; Léonie Villard, Lecturer; Adrian C. Gobert, Instructor; Natalina Fiorellino, Fellow, and Patria Aran, Tutor.

LAKE ERIE COLLEGE, PAINESVILLE, O. Mrs. Nancy C. Shields, of the College of St. Scholastica, Duluth, Minn., has been appointed Head of the Romance Language Department.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY, MILWAUKEE, WIS. The Dept. of Romance Languages is composed of the following: Wm. Dehorn, Ph.D., Prof. and Head of the Department; Hugh F. Field, Ph.D., Prof. of French and Spanish; John F. Duehren, A.M., Asst. Prof. of French; Charles L. Scanlon, A.M., Instructor in French and Spanish; LeRoy E. F. Thelen, Fellow in French; Alfred P. Willett, A.M., Instructor in French and Spanish.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE, SOUTH HADLEY, MASS. Assoc. Prof. Helen E. Patch has been granted a year's leave of absence, which will be spent in Nancy and Paris. Asst. Prof. Paul F. Saintonge will spend the summer in Europe. Asst. Prof. Marie-Jeanne Bourgoin will be on sabbatical leave in France during the year 1931-32. Asst. Prof. Suzanne Dedieu will return to the Department in September, after a year's leave of absence. Katherine W. Auryansen, Instructor, has been granted leave of absence to continue her work for the doctorate at Radcliffe. Mrs. Dorothy Doolittle, Instructor, received the Ph.D. degree from Bryn Mawr College. Edith K. Cumings, A.M., and Lena Mandell, A.M., both graduate students at Bryn Mawr, have been appointed Instructors for the coming year. Florence Whyte, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, has also been added to the staff as Instructor.

NEW JERSEY COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, NEW BRUNSWICK. Eugene L. Huet, of the University of Paris, has been appointed Visiting Prof. of French. Esther Del Valle, of Barnard College, has been added to the staff as Instructor in Spanish; Sara Del Valle has been made Assistant in Spanish. Edmée de Pombarat and Marguerite Richards have been engaged as Asst. Professors of French.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, O. Professors Monroe, Rockwood, Demorest and Fouré and Miss Marie Davis, of the French staff, are on leave of absence until October. Prof. and Mrs. Fouré taught at the summer school of Western Reserve University at Cleveland. Prof. W. S. Hendrix, of the Spanish staff, taught in the Summer Session at the University of Colorado. Harry J. Russell will go to Miami University during the coming year as Asst. Prof. of Spanish. Miss Leslie Rosemond will join the staff of the Romance Language Department at Marietta College.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, N. J. Prof. William A. Nitze, Chairman of the Dept. of Romance Languages at the Univ. of Chicago, was appointed M. H. Pyne Visiting Professor of French Literature for the first term of the next academic year. This chair, which was occupied last year by André Maurois and Paul Laumonier, will be filled during the second term of next year by Prof. Fernand Baldensperger of the

Sorbonne. Asst. Prof. Ira O. Wade has been promoted to Assoc. Professor. Henry A. Grubbs, Jr., has been made Asst. Professor, and James F. Shearer, Instructor. Bateman Edwards has become Asst. Professor; John G. Roberts and William H. Shoemaker, Instructors.

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE, LYNCHBURG, VA. Mrs. S. T. M. Harmanson, Prof. of Romance Languages, has been made Acting Head of the Department in the absence of Dr. Margaret E. N. Fraser, who will be on sabbatical leave in Italy and France. Ethel Winterfield has been promoted from Adjunct to Assoc. Professor. Miss N. Terrell Moore, A.M., Chicago, has been elected for the year as substitute with the rank of Adjunct Professor.

SMITH COLLEGE, NORTHAMPTON, MASS. Elliot M. Grant has been made Prof. of French. Madeline Guilloton has been advanced to Assoc. Prof. of French.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, N. Y. Leonard P. Kurtz will return to his duties in September after a year's leave of absence spent in graduate study at Columbia and in France and Spain. Emilio Calvacca, who was granted a leave of absence on a teaching fellowship at the Univ. of Michigan, will also return to his post.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY. *Dept. of French:* Assoc. Prof. Mathurin Dondo will return in August after a sabbatical leave spent in Europe. Gabriel Bonno, formerly Lecturer in French, has been appointed Assoc. Prof. of French. Prof. W. A. Nitze, of the Univ. of Chicago, is a member of the 1931 Summer Session faculty. *Dept. of Italian:* Michele De Filippis, who held the Italian-American Fellowship of the University, spent the past year in Italy, chiefly in Naples, gathering material for his doctoral dissertation on *The Life and Works of G. B. Manso*. He has returned as Asst. in Italian. Dr. E. Giachino, lately Italian-American Fellow, has accepted for the current year an Associateship in French. Kenneth McKenzie, Prof. of Italian at Princeton University, gave two courses, one on the *Vita Nuova* and an Intermediate Course, in the Summer Session. G. A. Borgese, Prof. of Esthetics in the Univ. of Milan, has been appointed Lecturer in Italian Culture for one semester. Russell V. Giffni will remain as Associate in Italian; he is preparing a doctoral dissertation on *The Development of Naturalistic Drama*.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, ILL. Prof. Américo Castro, of the Centro de Estudios Históricos of Madrid, was Visiting Professor this summer, offering a course on the *Siglo de Oro*, and a Seminar in literature. Professors Landre of Brown and Edwards of Princeton were also Visiting Professors. Next Spring Quarter Prof. Daniel Mornet, of the Univ. of Paris, will offer courses in French literature of the eighteenth century. The following Ph.D. degrees have been granted: Margaret Anderson, *Background of Balzac's "Illusions Perdues" and Variations in the Principal Editions*; Ralph Boggs, *Index of Spanish Folk Tales*; Howard R. Huse, *The Learning of Foreign Languages*; Sister Eleanore Michel, *Vidas de Santa Maria Madalena y Santa Maria, An Edition of the Old Spanish Text*; Leon P. Smith, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Old French "Partonopeus de Blois"*; Carl A. Swanson, *Ibsen and the French Drama*; Katherine Wheatley, *Three Plays of Molière in Relation to Their Terentian Sources*. Doctoral dissertations in preparation are: A. B. Swanson, *B. L. Editions of the "Perlesvaus"*; Winters, *Three Days' Tournament*; Stiefel, *"Couleur de fond" in the Tragedies of Racine*; Farinholt, *A Critical Edition of Georges de Scudéry's "L'Amour tyrannique"*; Robinson, *The Language of British Museum MS 15606*; Jesse, *The "Vie Sainte-Marguerite" of Wace*; Ashford, *The "Conception Notre Dame" of Wace*; Turnbull, *French-Canadian Poetry*; Crain, *Principal Sources and Variations in "Sur Catherine de Médicis"*; Bridgers, *Index of People and Places in the*

"*Comédie Humaine*"; Clark, *Index of Ideas in the "Comédie Humaine"*; Dedinsky, *Plan of the "Comédie Humaine"*; *Distribution of Novels*; Scott, *Painting and Artists in the Work of Balzac*; Saxe, *Variations in the Early "Scènes de la Vie privée"*; Givens, *A Study of "Le Lys dans la Vallée": Sources and Variations*; Millott, *Variations in "La Peau de Chagrin"*; Isaac, *A Study of "L'Interdiction": Realistic Technique and Variations*; Schons, *New Documents Concerning Juan Ruiz de Alarcón and His Family*; Haynes, *The Negative in Don Quixote*; Dillingham, *Editing an Anonymous Manuscript Play: "The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence"*; Rubio, *The Attitude Toward France in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Literature*; Kerr, *An Edition of "El Vitorial" of Díez de Games*; Strausbaugh, *The Use of "Haber de" and "Haber a" in Old Spanish*; Winchell, *The Syntax of "La Celestina"*; Poston, *A Vocabulary of "La Celestina"*; Marhofer, *The Horatian Ode in Sixteenth Century Italian Literature*; Bryson, *The Literature of the Duel in the Cinquecento*; Blankenship, *Infernal Allegory in Bernard Stieglitz and in Dante*; Punderson, *The Idea of the Golden Age in Renaissance Italy*.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, BOULDER. On June 15, 1931, Prof. Charles C. Ayer, for 34 years Head of the Dept. of Romance Languages, retired from active service. On the occasion of his retirement and in recognition of his many years of faithful service, Prof. Ayer was awarded by the Regents of the University the title of Professor Emeritus of Romance Languages. Prof. Ayer has been succeeded as Head of the Dept. by Prof. Edwin B. Place. Dr. Paul L. Faye, of the French Dept. of the Univ. of California, has been appointed Asst. Prof. of French. Asst. Prof. Stuart Cuthbertson, who has been on leave during the past year to complete his studies for the doctorate at Stanford University, has been promoted to the rank of Assoc. Prof. of Romance Languages. Pauline Marshall, Instructor in Spanish, sailed for Spain to spend the summer in study at Madrid. Charles Newcomer, Instructor in Spanish, has been awarded a part-time Assistantship in the Spanish Department of the Univ. of Wisconsin, where he will begin his studies for the doctorate. Dorothy Duhon, Instructor in French, has accepted an Instructorship in the French Dept. of Louisiana College, Pineville, La. Visiting Professors in the Department during the Summer Quarter were: Prof. W. S. Hendrix, Chairman of the Romance Dept. of Ohio State University; Prof. E. A. Méras, Chairman of the French Dept. of Adelphi College, and George W. H. Shield.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA. Prof. Thomas E. Oliver will spend his sabbatical leave in France and Germany. Régis Michaud, who was Visiting Professor during the past year, has been appointed to a permanent Professorship. Prof. John Van Horne, who has been promoted from Assoc. Professor to Professor, is spending the summer in Central America on a Guggenheim Fellowship. Prof. José Balseiro, who was Asst. Prof. last year on a one year appointment, has been made Assoc. Professor on a permanent appointment. Dr. Paul E. Jacob, formerly an Associate, has been promoted to Assistant Professor. Prof. Samuel F. Will, of Yale University, has been appointed Assistant Professor. Dr. O. K. Lundeborg has resigned to accept an Associate Professorship at Duke University.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA, GAINESVILLE. *Dept. of French*: Dr. Joseph Brunet, formerly Asst. Professor (1927-30), will resume his duties in September. Linton C. Stevens, Instructor, who has been given leave of absence for 1931-32, will spend the year in study in France. *Dept. of Spanish*: O. H. Hauptmann, Instructor, has been granted a year's leave of absence to finish work for his doctorate at the Univ. of Wisconsin. F. M. DeGaetani, Instructor, having obtained a year's leave of absence, has accepted an Exchange Fellowship in Spain. C. G. Reid, Jr., M.A., Virginia, has been appointed Instructor in Spanish for the year 1931-32.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, LAWRENCE. Prof. José M. de Osma taught during the summer in the Univ. of Southern California at Los Angeles. James A. Shearer has been appointed Instructor in Spanish at Princeton for 1931-32. Dwight Bolinger will be Fellow in Spanish at the Univ. of Wisconsin during the coming year.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR. Prof. René Talamon has been given a leave of absence for study in Paris. J. E. Ehrhard will also be absent on leave. Louis Chapard, Instructor in French, has been appointed to fill the vacancy left by Mr. Ehrhard. Vincent A. Scanio, Instructor in Italian, has been added to the staff to replace Emilio Calvacca, who is returning to the Univ. of Buffalo after a year of graduate work at this University. James V. Rice will study at Harvard University. William Knode and Roy H. Gearhart have resigned.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, NORMAN. Dr. Maurice G. Halperin, who has been studying in Paris for two years, will return to his post in September as Asst. Prof. of French. Asst. Prof. W. A. Willibrand, who has been studying during the past year at Heidelberg and Strasbourg, will also return in September. Della Brunsteter, Asst. Prof. of French, has been given a year's leave of absence for study in France and other countries. The following changes in the local staff of *Books Abroad* have been decided on, to become effective in 1932: Kenneth C. Kaufman, who has been Asst. Editor, will become Joint Editor with Dr. R. T. House. Joseph A. Brandt, Superintendent of the University of Oklahoma Press, who has been one of the Assoc. Editors, will be Managing Editor. Todd Downing, who has been Advertising Manager, will become Business Manager. Dr. Maurice G. Halperin will join the staff as one of the Assoc. Editors.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, EL PASO. Dr. Joseph A. McCurdy, Prof. of Romance Languages, Centre College, Kentucky, was Visiting Prof. of French during the Summer Session of 1931. Mrs. Isabella K. Fineau, Instructor in Modern Languages, was doing graduate work at the main branch of the Univ. of Texas during the summer term of 1931. Mrs. Lena Eldridge, Instructor in Modern Languages, taught in the Summer Session of the College of Mines and Metallurgy.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, BURLINGTON. Prof. Arthur B. Myrick, Head of the Dept. of Romance Languages, will sail in September for a sabbatical year in France and Italy, with some time in Spain and Greece. A. N. Colton has been appointed Asst. Professor.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON. *Dept. of French and Italian:* Prof. W. F. Giese, who was in Switzerland during the past year, is returning to his post, as are also Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Greenleaf, Mr. C. T. Caddock, and Prof. S. G. A. Rogers. Prof. R. B. Michell, who taught during the past semester at the Univ. of Texas, will resume his duties at this University. Delbert Gibson has accepted an appointment in Oberlin College as Instructor in French. Simone Verrier has gone to Middlebury College. Mr. and Mrs. R. Walker Scott left at the end of the first semester for St. Paul University, Tokio, Japan, where Mr. Scott is the Head of the Dept. of European Languages. Members of the staff on leave for the coming year are Prof. Lucy M. Gay and Marjorie Covert. Miss Covert will spend the year in France. *Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese:* The Faculty passed a resolution including Portuguese among the approved foreign languages of the University. The Research Committee of the University has granted the Department sufficient funds to organize next year a Research Seminary in Medieval Spanish Studies. Appointments for this work have been granted to Lloyd A. Kasten, Mack Singleton, Lawrence B. Kiddle and Dwight L. Bolinger, who will assist Prof. A. G. Solalinde. Prof. H. C. Berkowitz,

who spent the past year in Spain on a Guggenheim Fellowship doing research work on Galdós, has been promoted from Asst. Professor to Assoc. Professor. Asst. Prof. J. H. Herriott has obtained a Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies and will spend the coming year in Spain studying an Aragonese text of Marco Polo. The Ph.D. degree with a major in Spanish was granted last year to F. M. Kercheville on his dissertation *Benito Peres Galdós: A Study in Spanish Liberalism*, and to L. A. W. Kasten on his dissertation "*Secreto de los secretos*," Translated by Juan Fernandez de Heredia. An Edition of the Unique Aragonese Manuscript with Literary Introduction and Glossary. Mack Singleton has been promoted from Assistant to Instructor in Spanish. Alden R. Hefler, M.A., Harvard, 1927, has been appointed Instructor. New Assistants in the Department include Glenn R. Barr, M.A., Ohio State, 1927, at present Asst. Prof. at Miami University; D. L. Bolinger, M.A., Kansas, 1931; Dorothy Duis, M.A., Ohio State, 1926; Robert M. Duncan, M.A., Oberlin, 1930, formerly Instructor at Oberlin College; Aldis B. Easterling, M.A., Kansas, 1922; Guillermo Guevara, M.A., Minnesota, 1928; Charles A. Newcomer, M.A., Kansas, 1930. Ada M. Thibodeau, Graduate Fellow in the Dept. for 1930-31, has accepted the position of Head of the Dept. of Romance Languages at Nazareth College, Louisville, Ky. Lucile Draper, Assistant in the Dept., has accepted the position of Instructor in Romance Languages at Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. Matilde Carranza, Instructor, has resigned to become Asst. Prof. of Spanish at Lake Erie College. Mrs. Loretta B. Hagberg, Milwaukee Downer Scholar in Spanish in this Dept., has been made Instructor in Spanish in the Univ. of Wisconsin Milwaukee Extension Division.

VASSAR COLLEGE, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Fredericka Blankner will be Asst. Prof. of Italian during the second semester. Françoise Nollet has been added to the staff as Instructor in French. Nellis McBroom Roca has been appointed Instructor in Spanish. Maria T. Miller, Visiting Lecturer in French, has been promoted to a Professorship.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE, MASS. Dept. of French: Mme Henrietta Andrieu, Professor of French, died suddenly in New York on April 1st. Her work was carried on for the remainder of the year by Dr. Marjorie H. Ilsley, a former member of the Department. Miss M. A. Quarré and Miss F. Coufoulens, Instructors, have returned to France. Françoise Ruet, Asst. Prof. of French, will return in September from a leave of absence. Dept. of Spanish: Asst. Prof. Ada M. Coe will be absent on sabbatical leave, spending at least half of the year in Spain. Anita De Oyarzábal, of Goucher College, has been appointed Asst. Professor. Rebekah Wood has been added to the staff as Instructor.

CAROLINE MATULKA.

NEW YORK CITY.

VARIA

EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC—THE BULLETIN OF SPANISH STUDIES, published by the University of Liverpool and edited by the well-known scholar, E. Allison Peers, contains in its issue of April, 1931 (VIII, 30, p. 116), the following item under the heading, ROMANIC REVIEW: "Though this periodical is not wholly devoted to Spanish, all Hispanists know that a liberal share of its well-filled pages will be of interest to them. This year they score principally in the miscellaneous articles. Dr. Templin writes on Góngora; Dr. Berkowitz on Mesonero's *Memorias*; Professors E. B. Williams and E. H. Tuttle on Portuguese grammar-forms; Dr. Romera-Navarro on 'viejas fórmulas castellanas de saludo'; Dr. Fucilla on Quevedo; Dr. P. P.

Rogers on pre-Romantic Spanish drama; and so on. There are also a number of substantial Spanish reviews of books, while the 'Faculty Notes,' compiled with great industry and method by Miss Caroline Matulka, are eagerly scanned by all Romance students who have acquaintances in the American Universities. The comprehensiveness of the ROMANIC REVIEW is no doubt one secret of its steadily increasing success; the other is of course the genius of its Business Manager, Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck."—LES TENDANCES NOUVELLES DE L'HISTOIRE LITTÉRAIRE is the title of a very interesting article contributed by Prof. René Bray to the Oct.-Dec., 1930, number (pp. 542-557) of the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*. After pointing out the youth of literary history, "cinquante ans à peine de vie continue," he adds: "Et pourtant la voilà discutée avec plus d'apreté que lorsqu'on la fondait. De nouveaux adversaires, bien mieux informés et bien plus redoutables que ceux de jadis, contestent sa légitimité. Les historiens de la littérature eux-mêmes sentent vaciller leurs convictions, et s'interrogent sur leur activité. Le trouble gagne vite parmi les plus jeunes. . . . La première manifestation de ce trouble, je la vois dans la dispute qui eut pour théâtre les colonnes de la revue américaine THE ROMANIC REVIEW. Cette dispute commença en 1926 à l'occasion du compte rendu d'une thèse de doctorat française par un professeur de l'Université Columbia, M. Spingarn." After mentioning the various scholars who took part in the discussion, Prof. Bray continues: "Mais des milieux plus larges que celui des lecteurs de la ROMANIC REVIEW peuvent prendre conscience de ce trouble. Le *Correspondant*, en 1928, se faisait l'écho des thèses de Bernard Fay. La *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, au début de 1929, publiait sa contribution au débat. M. Michel Dragomirescou, professeur à l'Université de Bucharest, faisait paraître, en 1928 et 1929, trois ouvrages sur *La Science de la Littérature*, où les mêmes problèmes que posait Bernard Fay étaient étudiés dans toute leur extension. Il n'est pas jusqu'aux articles de l'abbé Brémond sur *Racine et la Poésie pure*, en cours de publication dans les *Nouvelles Littéraires*, qui, en opposant les opinions de Paul Valéry et de Ramon Fernandez, ne tentent de faire la lumière sur ces mêmes sujets." The remainder of the article is devoted to a résumé and further development of the two questions which "se mêlent étroitement dans la ROMANIC REVIEW." They are: "Quelles sont les limites du domaine de l'histoire littéraire et de ceux des disciplines annexes, littérature comparée et littérature générale?" and "Quelle est la valeur des méthodes actuellement en usage en histoire littéraire?" M. Bray's discussion of these questions is carried out in a very brilliant and scholarly manner.—DR. J. E. GILLET, the distinguished Professor of Spanish Literature in Bryn Mawr College, extends, in a letter of May 25, his "congratulations" on the April-June issue of the ROMANIC REVIEW; while Professor Urban T. Holmes, the well-known scholar of Old French of the University of North Carolina, speaks of the same issue as "certainly excellent."—GIACOMO DE MARTINO, Italian Ambassador, was awarded an honorary degree by Boston University on June 15. Paul Claudel, French Ambassador, was awarded, on June 10, the honorary LL.D. degree by the Catholic University, at Washington, for having rendered, in his writings, "most valuable service to religion, good morals, and the refinements of life." Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald of the University of Arizona, who graduated at Columbia University in 1895, was awarded at the Commencement Exercises of Columbia a University Medal in recognition of the distinguished services he has rendered to the study of Spanish literature and philology in America.—FOREIGN PROFESSORS who taught in the 1931 Summer Session of Columbia University included Daniel Mornet, Professor of French Literature at

the Sorbonne; Marcel Reboussin, Professor in the École Normale Supérieure of St. Cloud; Romano Guarneri, Professor of Italian at the University of Amsterdam; and Fidelino de Figueiredo, Professor of Portuguese Literature at the University of Lisbon.—PIERRE FOUCHÉ, Professor of the History of the French Language at the University of Strasbourg, was an addition to the Faculty of the Linguistic Institute which was held at the College of the City of New York from June 29 to August 7.—DR. S. P. DUGGAN, Director of the Institute of International Education, announced on May 11 the award of 137 Fellowships and Scholarships for study in foreign countries. They are divided as follows: Germany, 76 fellowships created by the American-German Student Exchange; France, 22 scholarships for junior-year study under the Delaware plan; Czechoslovakia, 11 fellowships under the American-Czechoslovak Student Exchange; Italy, 7; Austria and Switzerland, 6 each, the former under the Austro-American Student Exchange; Hungary, 5, under the American-Hungarian Student Exchange; Spain and Latin America, 2 each, the former under the American-Spanish Student Exchange. It is unfortunately evident that the Latin countries, with a combined total of 33, are falling behind in this field where only a few years ago they were leaders.—THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION announced on May 4 the winners of the eight American Field Service Fellowships in France for 1931-32, each of which carries a stipend of \$1400. Only one of these awards was made in French language and literature, notably Wilson Micks of Union College, New York, who is to study the modern dialect of Limousin and the literary movement in that region since 1850. At the same time there were awarded 20 scholarships providing study at the Institute of Art and Archaeology in Paris during a six weeks' Summer Session, offered in coöperation with the College Art Association and resulting from a special grant by the Carnegie Corporation. Furthermore 22 fellowships were awarded by the Ministry of Public Instruction of France to American college and university graduates. Of these students 19 will study French language or literature. Finally, there were announced nine appointments and three alternates to teaching positions in French lycées and écoles normales. This makes a total of 59 American students who will study in France next year; and if we add thereto the 22 who are to study under the Delaware plan we have a grand total of 81, or just 5 more than have been created by the American-German Student Exchange alone.—THE NEW YORK COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN STUDY AND TRAVEL awarded on May 4 eight foreign scholarships valued at \$1,000 each. Three of the students are to study in Germany, two in France, one each in Spain and Scotland, and one has no designation.—THE ARGENTINE-AMERICAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE of Buenos Aires announced on May 24 the award of five scholarships to Argentine students who are to study in the colleges and universities of the United States.—L. A. WILKINS, Director of Foreign Language Study of the Board of Education of New York, announced on May 18 the three winners of the Spanish scholarships awarded to New York high school students by the Barcelona Prize Contest, sponsored by a Spanish importing firm.—CAROLINA MARCIAL DORADO, Asst. Prof. of Spanish in Barnard College, is chairman of a committee composed of prominent women who are planning to establish a scholarship fund of \$10,000 to enable American girls to study in Spain.—THE BOARD OF EDUCATION of New York City issued on June 7 a new syllabus in modern languages according to which emphasis in language teaching in the high schools will be shifted from grammar and pronunciation to reading. "This objective," says the statement, "does not advocate in the slightest degree a return to the translation method, nor does it minimize the importance of training the ear and tongue. . . . This aim

stresses ability to grasp readily thought expressed in the foreign language in writing or in speech. It includes the attainment of a reasonably fluent and accurate pronunciation and of an introductory knowledge of the foreign country and its people. . . . Grammatical phenomena have importance only as contributing to comprehension. . . . Reading for thought, hearing for thought, speaking to express thought, is the desideratum. . . . It is recommended that, with this object in view, exercises be framed for ready recognition of a large passive vocabulary."—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS of the enrolment in modern languages in the New York City high schools were issued recently by the Board of Education. According to the *New York Times* of June 14, "the study of German is advancing so rapidly that it soon may rival French in popularity. . . . The increase in enrolment in German classes during the last four years was 145 percent, while the gain in French was only 31 percent. The report also showed an increase of 106 percent in enrolment for the study of Italian, and a decrease of 2 percent in the number of students taking Spanish." Latin showed a decrease from 32,513 in 1927 to 29,700 in 1931. Comparative figures for 1931 and 1930 were more reassuring for the Romance languages. Thus, Italian showed 36 percent increase over 1930; German, 25 percent; French, 7.5 percent; and Spanish, 6 percent. The report further revealed that "from early in 1918 to late in 1920, there were no classes in German organized in the city public schools."—THE NEWS BULLETIN of the Institute of International Education contained in its April, 1931, issue (VI, no. 7, pp. 2-3) an article entitled "Foreign Students and Teachers and Immigration Rules," by Dr. S. P. Duggan. This brief and succinct statement of the new immigration regulations should be carefully digested by all foreign scholars and students who are planning to visit our country.—THE AMERICAN HOUSE at the Cité Universitaire of Paris was filled to capacity during the first year (1930-31) of its operation. The group occupying the 250 rooms represented 34 states, besides the District of Columbia, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. New York led with a delegation of 41 students, followed in order by Massachusetts and Colorado. As for universities, Harvard led with a group of 11 students, while Columbia and the College of the City of New York were represented by delegations of nine each. In fact, so popular is the American House with foreigners that many American students have been unable to secure quarters therein. As one of the thousands of donors to the House, the undersigned would like to request that rooms therein be restricted, so far as possible, to Americans.—W. N. CROMWELL, the New York lawyer, donated on May 27 the sum of \$40,000 to the French Fund for Scientific Research. According to the *New York Times* of May 28, this gift is "to be divided equally among ten French scientists to be used in furthering their researches and endeavors."—THE AMERICAN LIBRARY IN PARIS added during the past year more than 5,000 volumes to its book collection which now numbers about 65,000 volumes. The average daily attendance in its seven free reading rooms is between 500 and 700 persons. The registered borrowers of books now total 3,189 of whom 56 percent are Americans, 19 percent French, 15 percent British, and 10 percent other nationalities. Particular attention is being devoted to the development of the American Art and Music Collections.—DR. D. E. SMITH, Professor Emeritus of Mathematics at Teachers College, Columbia University, presented recently to its library a collection of diplomas and documents, so unusual that it is believed to be the only one of its kind in the world. According to an announcement issued on May 27 the collection contains 64 diplomas of medieval universities, besides a large number of later periods. The earliest diploma represented is one from Bologna, dated 1564. Others inscribed in Latin,

German and French are from the Universities of Paris, Strasburg, Berne, etc. Among the various early thesis reports, which were posted on doors of churches, is one from 1519, according to which the student, in defending publicly his thesis, had to remain at his post and answer all questions from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. If he defended his arguments successfully his thesis was accepted. All diplomas issued in France before the Revolution bear the Pope's official seal, while from then on they are stamped with the university's insignia only.—THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART paid, on May 8 in a Paris sale, the sum of \$10,000 for a Book of Hours dated 1508. At the same sale \$20,000 was paid by a French collector for an illustrated edition of *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* and nearly the same sum for a first edition of Egidia Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.—THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY of New York has on display a copy of Nicolò Malermi's very rare Italian Bible printed in two volumes on Aug. 1, 1471, by Vindelin de Spira. Of the six perfect copies of this first Italian Bible in existence, two, the Morgan copy and the one at Breslau, are on vellum, while those now in the Libraries of Göttingen, Paris, Manchester and Glasgow are on paper.—E. S. HARKNESS' recent donation to Columbia University of the necessary funds for the erection of a library with an ultimate capacity of 4,000,000 books has aroused a discussion as to the relative size of the leading libraries of the world. According to the *New York Times* the world's largest library is the Soviet State Library at Leningrad, which is reported to contain more than 4,600,000 printed books and 240,000 manuscripts and autographs. Then follows undoubtedly the world's finest library, the Bibliothèque Nationale with 4,500,000 volumes, 500,000 maps and plans, 125,000 manuscripts, 250,000 medals and coins, 4,500 engraved stones, 7,500 works of art, and 3,065,000 prints, etchings, engravings, etc. Third in size is the Library of Congress at Washington with 4,100,000 books and pamphlets; fourth, the New York Public Library, which contains 3,357,727 books and pamphlets; and fifth, the British Museum with 3,200,000 printed volumes. University libraries run as follows: Harvard, 2,600,000; Yale, 1,800,000; Oxford, 1,250,000 printed volumes and 40,000 manuscripts; and Columbia, 1,100,000.—THE JESUIT LIBRARY, which was recently destroyed in Madrid, is said to have consisted of 80,000 volumes, besides 50,000 cards containing important data on the history of the Spanish Church from the time of the Visigoths.—THE AMERICAN IONA SOCIETY issued recently a splendid work entitled *The Distribution of University Centres in Britain* (The Airlie Press, 80 Buchanan St., Glasgow), by the late Hugh Gunn, who organized the Universities of the Cape of Good Hope and of Western Australia, as well as Grey University College at Bloemfontein. The following surprising statement is found on p. 42: "Edinburgh can lay claim to being the imperial university of Great Britain and the Empire. There are more students from overseas attending Edinburgh University than attend any other seat of learning in the country." The following are the totals of overseas students registered in British universities in 1927-28 and 1929-30: Edinburgh, 657 (of whom 102 from the United States) and 653 respectively; Oxford, including 200 Rhodes scholars, 509 and 478; Cambridge, 476 and 448; Glasgow, 235 and 260; Aberdeen, 32 and 40; and St. Andrew's, 18 and 83. The above volume also contains on pp. 88-89 a splendid table of the Indo-European group of languages specially prepared by Dr. Peter Giles, the distinguished classical philologist of Cambridge University.—THE AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY gave, on April 29, a reception to J. L. Gerig in its handsome building at 132 East 16th St., New York City. His address entitled "The Future of Celtic Studies" was published in *The Gaelic American* of New York

(XXVIII, May 9, pp. 1-2-5); *The Recorder, Bulletin of the American Irish Historical Society* (IV, 6, pp. 1-11); *The Irish Weekly* of Belfast, Ireland (LXIV, issues of June 6, 13, 20, 27); *The Star, A National Review* of Dublin, Ireland (New Series, June 1931, pp. 230, ff.); and other publications in Ireland and America.—RAYMOND FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC is the subject of an excellent study by Ludwig Pfandl in *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen* (nos. 1 and 2, 1931).

NECROLOGY—RAPHAEL D'AMOUR, head of the Department of French Literature which he organized at Fordham University, New York, 25 years ago, died in New York on June 5 in his 71st year. A native of Nîmes, France, Dr. D'Amour came to the United States in 1890 and conducted a private French school until he became associated with Fordham. In 1912 he received the M.A. degree from New York University, and in 1922 the Ph.D. from Fordham. In 1924 he was awarded first prize by the Jeux Floraux du Languedoc at Toulouse for his poem "Sonnet pour Ronsard," and in 1930 he attained the same honor with his "Hymne au Soleil." These were published recently in his volume of poems entitled *Larmes et Sourires*. Dr. D'Amour was for many years Officier d'Instruction Publique and two months before his death was made Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.—MARCEL VIGNERON, Assistant Professor of French in New York University, died in New York on May 1. After having studied at the Sorbonne, he came to this country several years before the War and engaged in teaching the French language. In 1911 he followed a course in general phonetics given by the writer of these lines, and specialized thereafter in the effects and causes of sounds, notably in relation to deaf persons. He served with distinction throughout the World War, was wounded five times, and received the Croix de Guerre and other decorations. After the War he completed his studies for the degree of Doctorat de l'Université. During the past few years he taught at New York University as well as in the Summer Sessions of Middlebury College, Vermont. He is survived by his widow Mrs. Adèle Bazinet Vigneron.—FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Columbia University, died at Scarsdale, N. Y., on June 11 at the age of 76 years. His pioneer works in sociology, famed for the theory of "consciousness of kind" which later became "like response to like stimuli," were widely read in Latin countries as the numerous editions of their translations attest. During the War he gave vigorous support to the Allied Cause especially at a time when that cause did not enjoy much popularity.—FRED NEWTON SCOTT, since 1927 Emeritus Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Michigan, died at San Diego, Calif., on May 30 in his 71st year. He received all his degrees, A.B. (1884), A.M. (1888), and Ph.D. (1889) from the University of Michigan, with which he was associated for 47 years, starting as assistant librarian in 1884. As President of the Modern Language Association of America in 1907 he made himself beloved by all modern language teachers.—DR. PAOLO DE VECCHI, eminent Italo-American surgeon, died in New York on May 30 in his 84th year. Born at Quattordio, near Turin, he first studied medicine at the University of Turin, and later served with Garibaldi in the Roman campaign of 1867. In 1870 he was a volunteer in the Franco-Prussian War and took part in the battle of Sedan. After having received his medical degree at Turin in 1872, he came to the United States in 1880 for the purpose of studying orthopedic surgery. He finally settled in San Francisco, where he was naturalized in 1887 and where he continued the practice of medicine until his retirement in 1905. His most important writings of recent years include *Modern Italian Surgery* and *How Italy Won the War*, a translation of the book by Col. E. E. Hume, of the U. S. A. Medical Corps. During his last years he took

an active part in the development of cultural relations between Italy and America.—EUGÈNE YSAÏE, celebrated Belgian violinist and composer, died in Brussels on May 12 in his 73rd year. A pupil of Vieuxtemps he first came to America in 1894. In 1898 he declined an invitation to succeed Seidl as Conductor of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, but in 1918, when he was a refugee from Belgium, he accepted a similar invitation from the Cincinnati Symphony, succeeding Dr. E. Kunwald. His Walloon opera "Peter the Miner" was presented in Brussels on April 25 last, and he was engaged on another opera at the time of his death. His first wife having died in 1924, he married in 1927 Miss Annette Dincin of Brooklyn, N. Y., who is 44 years his junior.—JACQUES NORMAND, one of the few collaborators of Guy de Maupassant, died in Paris on May 28 in his 82nd year. His play *Musotte*, which he wrote in cooperation with Maupassant, was produced at the Théâtre Gymnase. In addition to many other plays, which were mounted at the Comédie Française and the Odéon, he was the author of several volumes of poems and short stories, besides a novel or two. He married Mlle Valentine Autran, a daughter of Polash Autran of the Académie Française.—AUGUSTE GAUVAIN, foreign editor of the *Journal des Débats*, died at Pau on April 18 in his 70th year.

LITERATURE, DRAMA, AND FILMS—THE FRENCH NOVEL, which was so widely read by the English and American generations of the *fin de siècle* period, has, according to Orlo Williams in *The New Statesman and Nation* of London, suffered a marked decline in popularity since the War. This decline he attributes, on the one hand, to the fact that English literature is as "free from reticence and repressions as the French." On the other hand, "unfortunately, French novels are no longer amusing." And he cites the case of a gentleman who "fainted, after the first volume of Proust's *A la Recherche du Temps perdu*" and is unable to endure "Gide at all." The same is true of Barbusse and Duhamel, who, notwithstanding their vogue with post-War readers, are scarcely known at present. If, therefore, one agrees with Mr. Williams' conclusion that "we read too little French today," it behooves teachers to attempt to revive the form of culture in which our parents gloried. But in order that this may be accomplished it is necessary that French authors give more attention to the grace and dignity of their style, for, to quote from an editorial on "Dictionary Thursdays" in the *New York Times* of June 7, "one is often hopelessly exasperated by the frequent unintelligibility of the gibberish of the day in French novels and newspapers."—THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC seems to give preference, in its appointments of ambassadors, to writers and scholars, as the following list shows: Washington, Salvador de Madariaga; London, Pérez Ayala; Berlin, Américo Castro; Mexico, Julio Álvarez del Vayo; Vatican City, Luis de Zulueta; Brussels, Salvador Albert; Chile, Ricardo Baeza; etc.—VICENTE BLASCO IBAÑEZ's body, which has been interred at Mentone, France, since his death in 1928, is soon to find its last resting place in the soil of his beloved Spain, according to a decree issued by the Spanish Cabinet on May 27. Another decree was voted for the erection of a monument to this pioneer advocate of the Republic.—PIERRE BENOIT, author of popular novels such as *Königsmark*, *L'Atlantide*, etc., and Gen. Maxime Weygand, French Chief of Staff, were elected to the Académie Française on June 11 to seats vacated by the death of Marshal Joffre and Georges de Porto-Riche.—JEAN GIGNO's REGAIN was awarded the Northcliffe Prize by Noel Coward at the Institut Français, London, on June 1. This prize and that of Femina de la Vie Heureuse, which went to Richard Hughes' *High Wind in Jamaica*, are awarded annually for the best works of imagination published in France and England.—THE FIRST NOVEL to be pub-

lished in a newspaper was *Robinson Crusoe* which the *London Post* began to issue on Oct. 7, 1719. But it was the newspapers of Émile de Girardin which popularized the *roman-feuilleton*, so much so that the Romantic period has been called its Golden Age.—THE POLISH GOVERNMENT presented recently to M. Briand the original manuscripts of *La Mare au Diable* and *La Noce de Campagne*, which George Sand gave to Chopin and which have since remained in Poland. They will be deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale.—GUSTAVE FLAUBERT'S niece, Mme Franklin-Grout, gave in 1914 to the city of Rouen the original manuscripts of *Madame Bovary* and *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, on condition that they were not to be exhibited to the public until fifty years after the death of the author. As Flaubert died in 1880, these manuscripts are now available to scholars.—THE ACADEMIE FRANÇAISE created a precedent when on June 14 it went in a body to Belgium in order to return the visit made by the Belgian Academy to Chantilly ten years ago.—THE BELGIAN ACADEMY OF LITERATURE celebrated in June the tenth anniversary of its founding. Another new academy is the *Académie Féminine des Lettres* which was created recently at Paris.—L'ASSOCIATION DES ÉCRIVAINS BELGES, whose President is the novelist Hubert Krains, has just established in Brussels a bookstore containing the works of all Belgian writers.—LE PRIX VERHAEREN for 1931 was awarded to Carlo Bronne's *Collines que j'aimais*. Following next in order were Roger Bodart's *Les Mains tendues* and Pierre Bourgeois' *Nouvelles Compositions Lyriques*.—MONTAIGNE, TAINÉ AND ANATOLE FRANCE are soon to be honored with monuments, the first two at Paris and the latter at Tours. Verhaeren will also have his monument, which will be erected before his house at Saint-Cloud.—THE BRAZILIAN ACADEMY and the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon have just signed an agreement according to which the orthography of the Portuguese language will be practically the same in both countries.—AN INTERVIEW WITH PIRANDELLO is reported by Philip Carr in the *New York Times* of May 24. In regard to the play, *As you Desire Me*, Mr. Carr asked: "Which . . . do you consider to be the real wife?" The dramatist replied: "The one who believes herself to be the real wife." "But the real wife physically?" continued the critic. At that the dramatist smiled and said: "The theme of all my work is that imagination is stronger than actuality. What is real for each one of us is what he or she believes to be real." Discussing his future plans, the dramatist stated that the Shuberts had commissioned him to write five plays of which three are completed, viz., *As You Desire Me*, *Tonight We Improvise* and *The New Colony*. Those in preparation are *The Giants of the Mountain* and *When You Are Somebody*. Pirandello expressed admiration for Lenormand, "the great promise of dramatic power" of Stève Passeur, and J. J. Bernard, "whose intimate drama was so very different from his own."—FRANCIS DE CROISSET'S new comedy *Pierre ou Jack*, which was produced at the Athénée in April, was one of the real successes of the past Paris theatrical season. The story, which forms a counter-attack on the part of the theatre against the film, deals with two young men and two young women, both of the latter and one of the young men being in love with the wrong partners. The second young man, a film star, is, says Philip Carr in the *Times* of April 11, "in love with no one at all, unless it be with himself and his own success." Though this is the first appearance of De Croisset in the theatre since the death of his collaborator de Flers a few years ago, he continues to follow the same formula of polite satire.—DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, the novelist, has entered the theatre with a well-written play entitled *L'Eau Franche*. Time was when all novelists wrote plays, but today only Jules Romains and Jean Giraudoux can be classed as both novelists and dramatists.

"The *eau fraîche* of the title is poverty," says Philip Carr in the *Times* of June 7, "not the poverty of those who have always been poor and hardly notice it, but the poverty of those who know well what luxury and ease mean, and either have a horror of being without them, on the one hand, or a dread of being subjugated by them, on the other." The protagonists are a girl "whose father is a shameless borrower, and who is consequently determined to free herself from the humiliation of sponging upon her rich friends," and an enthusiastic scientist "who is determined to live modestly" in order to devote himself solely to his work. Though they love each other they do not marry because the man will not give up his ideals and the girl will not sacrifice her comfort. While the play was skilfully acted by Louis Jouvet and others, it was not artistically successful because the characters are too self-analytic.—THE COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE which, says Philip Carr in the *Times* of May 17, "has always kept Pailleron's *Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie* in the repertoire since its first successful production in 1881," celebrated recently the 50th anniversary of this charming comedy "by trying to liberate the interpretation from the heavy crust of comic business which has grown upon it. This crust is a consequence of the parts having been played by so many actors, whose successive inventions are often discordant." It is this tyranny of the tradition of the part that has dealt such a blow to the performance of Shakespeare, and "if it has not destroyed that of Molière," concludes Mr. Carr, "it is because the tradition in this case is the direct heritage of what the author himself imposed, and no one has dared to add anything of consequence to it."—PLAYS produced in Paris during the late spring months include Henry Kistemaeckers' *Déodat*, which is Pirandellian in character in that it deals with a playwright who, in search of material for the third act of his new drama, "wants to live the life of his own character in the situation which he has imagined," to quote Philip Carr in the *Times* of April 11; revivals of Offenbach's venerable *Vie Parisienne* and Bernstein's *La Rafale*; the latter's new play *Le Jour*, which Philip Carr characterizes as "more elaborately subtle but hardly more dramatic" than *La Rafale*; a revival of Claudel's "masterpiece of mystic exaltation," *L'Otage*; amusing revues by Rip and Henri Jeanson; Copeau's "Compagnie des Quinze" in a play by André Obey, founded on Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece*; Louis Treich and Paul de Mont's "amusing, satirical play about the intrigues of contemporary French politics," called *Palais-Bourbon*; Sacha Guitry's new biographical comedy about Frans Hals, which adds to his series of such comedies dealing with Béranger, La Fontaine, Pasteur, Debureau, Mozart and Napoleon III; Stève Passeur's *La Chatne*, which, possessing "many of the same merits and the same defects" as his *L'Acheteuse*, deals with "the all-engrossing physical desire" of the characters; Armand Salacrou's *Atlas-Hôtel*, which is characterized by Philip Carr, in the *Times* of May 10, as "an essay on the contrast between idealism and materialism" in that the young woman prefers the dreamer to the realist; Paul Armont's comedy in which the principal character is "a more or less amusingly successful swindler"; Bernard Zimmer's *Beau Danube Rouge*, "an old-fashioned and sentimental melodrama," in which a producer is killed at a film rehearsal by one of the performers; revivals of all the dramas of Tristan Bernard; *La Conversion de Figaro*, an ingenious revolutionary pageant play by Jean Jacques Brousson and others, which, according to Philip Carr, "shows all Beaumarchais's characters grown older, taking part in the capture of the Bastille and eventually prisoners in the Conciergerie under Robespierre, to be providentially released by his fall"; and a ballet at the Opéra, called *Bacchus et Ariane*, with a scenario by Abel Hermant and music by Albert Roussel.—THE CABARETS, hereto-

fore so essentially Parisian and therefore individualistic, are now in danger not only of becoming standardized but even of blossoming forth into a full-fledged monopoly. The Captain of this newly developed industry is Roger Ferréol who has already succeeded in "merging" several together under one management like a bank or trust. The Aristide Bruants and Maurice Donnays of the future will doubtless bear the classic titles of directors of the corporation. Indeed the curtain has apparently fallen upon the violently political and literary cabarets whose songs composed of endless and meaningless words were the joy of by-gone days.—FOREIGN PLAYS AND FILMS produced in New York during April and May include Henry Bernstein's *Mélo*, which, when presented on April 15, was admired for its "craftmanship"; a revival on April 16 of Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, which was first played in New York in 1922; Sem Benelli's *L'Arzigogolo* (The Whim) acted in Italian on April 27 by the Teatro d'Arte; and *Le Million*, a French dialogue film inspired by a play by G. Berr and M. Guillemaud, presented on May 21.—HENRY BIDOU, author of a life of Sainte-Beuve, analyzes the art of Charlie Chaplin in a recent issue of *Les Annales*. After comparing him to Panurge, Sancho and Gil Blas, he concludes: "In the shadow of Charlot on the screen men recognize their own phantom. Thinking they love him, they merely love themselves." Ivan Noé, writing in the *New York Times* of April 20, states that he, Marcel Achard, Jean Sarment and Jacques Natanson "have been influenced by Charlot." And he points out the "strange analogy" between Sarment's play, *The Most Beautiful Eyes in the World*, produced some four years ago, and Chaplin's film *City Lights*.

ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND MUSIC—COL. MICHAEL FRIEDSAM, the New York merchant who died recently, left his entire collection of more than 200 works of art to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The collection contained, in addition to numerous works by Flemish, Dutch, German and English masters, paintings by the following artists: French: Jean Clouet (2), F. Clouet (2), Maître de Moulins (3), Bellegambe, Marmion, J. d'Orléans (3), Fouquet, Malouel, Dumonstier, De Lyon (17 portraits), and Du Plessis (Portrait of Benjamin Franklin); Italian: Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, Tintoretto, Mantegna, Antonello da Messina, Veneto, Titian, Di Paolo, Fra Angelico, Bellini, Pinturicchio, Mainardi, Catena, Perugino, Francia, and three pieces of sculpture by Alessandro Vittorino, Tullio Lombardo and Mino da Fiesole; Spanish: El Greco, Goya, Velasquez, and Murillo.—THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART purchased on June 13 Jacques Louis David's "Death of Socrates," which, according to the announcement, "is one of the four paintings generally classed as the artist's masterpieces." The painting was commissioned by a M. de Trudaine in 1785 and was exhibited in the Salon of 1787, where it created a sensation. Sir Joshua Reynolds called it "the greatest effort of art since the Sistine Chapel and the Stanze of Raphael." Napoleon tried to buy it about 1812, but it was jealously guarded by the Trudaine descendants until its recent sale.—MODERN FRENCH ART seems to be more than holding its own in New York exhibitions, notwithstanding the anathemas heaped upon it. Thus, works of the following artists were on display during the late spring months: Lurçat, Miro, Picasso, Matisse, Raoul Dufy, Chirico, Derain, Segonzac, Modigliani, Gromaire and Asselin in the V. Dudensing collection; Monet landscapes at Durand-Ruel's; paintings from Corot to Picasso at Kleinberger's; drawings from Ingres to Picasso at Demotte's; and finally works of Renoir, Henri Rousseau, Derain, Modigliani, Albert André, Monet, Pissarro, D'Espagnat, Moret, Loiseau and Maufra at the Art Students' League.—THE LIZZIE P. BLISS collection of modern French art, which is now on exhibition at the Museum of

Modern Art in New York, has received unqualified praise from all leading critics.—J. H. FRY, the venerable New York artist, who is well-known for his vigorous attacks on ultra-modernism in painting, had on exhibition in the 1931 Spring Salon of Paris two classic studies from Greek mythology, which, according to Carlisle MacDonald in the *New York Times* of May 3, were "centred out for high praise." Because of his violent dislike of what he terms "the gospel of ugliness," Mr. Fry, now in his 80th year, had since 1885 refused to exhibit any of his works in the famous French exhibition.—AN EXHIBITION of 35 modern French paintings and 25 French prints was held at Princeton University during May. The collection was assembled under the auspices of the College Art Association.—ELIZABETH LUTHER CARY discusses at length trends in modern art in the *Times* of May 3 and concludes as follows: "It is in the field of the decorative and industrial arts that the battle of the new is on and has become recognizable as a battle for existence."—ART FORGERIES recently exposed include the marble bust attributed to Mino da Fiesole, which was purchased several years ago for \$25,000 by Edsel Ford and presented to the Detroit Institute of Art; and a decorative bronze plaque belonging to Baron E. A. M. Fersen, a naturalized Russian exile, which was long believed to have been the work of Benvenuto Cellini. After the authenticity of the latter work had been questioned, its owner requested the Bureau of Standards of Washington to submit it to electrochemical tests, which revealed that it was an electrolytic reproduction not more than 60 years old. It is believed that the original, said to have been made from the cartoon of a work by Cellini's contemporary, Michelangelo, was removed by vandals from the Russian home of the Baron just before he fled from the Revolution and the spurious piece substituted in its place.—C. S. STEARNS of Pasadena, Calif., was decorated with the insignia of the Legion of Honor in Paris on June 4 for his gift to France of a collection of works of art.—THE ADDISON GALLERY OF AMERICAN ART, erected at Andover, Mass., opened its doors to the public on May 18. Its collection extends from Colonial days to the present time.—THE FIRST QUADRENNIAL EXHIBITION of modern Italian art, which closed in Rome at the end of June, was pronounced by all critics a great success. According to Francis Monotti, writing in the *New York Times* of June 21, "the most discussed painter" was Felice Casorati, closely followed by Ferruccio Ferrazzi whose "Idol of the Prism" was much admired at the recent Carnegie exhibition in Pittsburgh. Other painters whose work was praised include Felice Carena; Soffici, who is "considered one of the best writers as well as painters of the day"; Prampolini, "unquestionably the best of the Futurists" and a host of others among whom were Tosi, Carrà, Funi and Sironi of the so-called Lombard school; Virgilio Guidi, Socrate, Bartoli, Pazzini, etc. In sculpture the leading figures were Adolfo Wildt, whose marble head of Margherita Sarfatti was much admired; Romano Romanelli, another Academician; Selva's "Eve"; Dazzi's "Little Girl at the Sea Shore"; and the "very interesting works" of Thayah, "one of Hiram Powers's great-grandchildren."—JACQUES MAUNY regrets, in his discussion of art at the French Colonial Exposition, published in the *New York Times* of May 3, that "like the long list of Prix de Rome winners, the no less copious list of Prix des Colonies winners contains almost none of the names that are cherished by modern art fans." And in support of his thesis he further states that "the only artistic expeditions to the colonies that seem to have had any serious consequences are those made by Eugène Delacroix to Morocco in 1831, by Paul Gauguin to Tahiti in 1891, and by Henri Matisse to Morocco in 1906."—THE AMBROISE VOLLARD EDITIONS of modern illustrations, exhibited at present at Le Portique, is the subject

of a long article by Jacques Mauny in the *Times* of April 19. The oldest specimen in the 32 volumes comprising the collection is Verlaine's *Parallèlement* (1900), illustrated by Picasso. Recounting the history of French book illustration, M. Mauny states that "the summit of perfection was reached in the seventeenth century, and the eighteenth, of course, was also a good period. Gradually, following the appalling decadence of architecture and decorative arts, illustrated books reached the lowest level of debasement between 1870 and 1900, when plates were copied from insipid originals by second-class practitioners." The present revival of the art he holds to be due to Laboureur, Daragnes, Hermine David, Pascin, Albert Moreau, Jean Hugo and others.—THE VERSAILLES MUSEUM revealed on June 11 that it had lost by theft a few days previously an equestrian portrait of Louis XIII. Some months ago the Museum was also robbed of a bust of Louis XIV and some tapestries. The latter were recovered later on in a mutilated condition.—ANTWERP has decided to purchase from the Baroness de Caters de Bosschaert, the present owner, the palace of Rubens in order to convert it into a museum. The palace was designed by the artist himself.—THE FAMOUS CANNING PENDANT, described by the *New York Times* of June 20 as "a superb example of the Italian Renaissance attributed to Benvenuto Cellini," has been offered for sale by the Earl of Harewood, son-in-law of King George. When Delhi was captured during the Indian Mutiny, the jewel, which is made in the form of a triton whose body is composed of a huge baroque pearl, was found in the treasury of the King of Oudh, and Earl Canning acquired it. "According to tradition," says the *Times*, "the jewel was originally a gift from a member of the Medici dynasty to one of the Mogul Emperors."—ITALIAN ARCHITECTS, according to A. Cortesi in the *New York Times* of May 17, are now divided into two fiercely contending groups, viz., the traditionalists and the ultra-modernists, or "Rationalists" as they style themselves. The former, led by the Academician Marcello Piacentini, hold that the Rationalists, whose recent exhibition in Rome started the discussion, have invented nothing new but are merely imitating styles developed in other European countries which are not only ugly but are ill-adapted to the sunny climate of Italy. To which the Rationalists reply that the antiquated standards of their opponents are in no way suited to present-day requirements. While, according to Mr. Cortesi, "the Rationalists are right in their claim that Italian architecture is now at a rather low ebb," though it "touched its lowest point toward the end of the last century when the prevailing taste was a thing to shudder at," yet it is felt by many that it should not be cast overboard completely, for it has a certain "stateliness and grace" which ought to be revived. And Mr. Cortesi cites, as an example, the workers' homes constructed near the Basilica of St. Paul-Outside-the-Walls. "The first houses built," he says, "were plain and ugly . . . but gradually the style improved until the most recent dwellings are excellent examples of modern architecture."—ITALY has been commemorating this year the sixth centenary of the death of Lorenzo Maitani (b. at Siena in 1275), who undertook in 1310 to design and construct the façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto, so much admired by J. A. Symonds.—THE HISTORIC ARC DU CARROUSEL, which was erected by Napoleon and which stands at the eastern end of the Tuileries Gardens, is being restored through the generosity of Thomas Cochran of New York, who donated in 1929 \$20,000 for that purpose. Because of its proximity to the Sine, the famous monument (especially its rose marble columns and bas-reliefs) was suffering much from the elements.—LUIGI TORRI, the Italian musicologist, who discovered in 1927 in a convent near Turin 97 volumes containing a large part of the lost works of Vivaldi

and the complete autograph score of Stradella's missing opera, *La forza dell' amor paterno*, has, according to Raymond Hall in the *New York Times* of May 24, made another important discovery in an old house in Liguria. The present collection consists of "some 200 volumes, partly in MS." of "documents of Italian opera of the 17th and 18th centuries, including the airs of the principal melodramas performed in the various theatres of Venice during that period." Another recent discovery of importance is that of more than 100 *laudi* found in a forgotten 13th century collection at Cortona by Fernando Liuzzi, author of the *Estetica della musica*.—HENRY PRUNIÈRES expresses, in the *New York Times* of April 26, his opinion of the last musical season in Paris in the following words: "No such poverty of musical life has obtained here at any time since the great war."—GEORGES RICOU, co-director with Louis Masson of the Paris Opéra-Comique since 1924, resigned recently because of the insufficiency of the subsidy awarded by the French Government to the famous "Salle Favart." Although carrying an enormous répertoire of more than 100 operas and staging many new pieces every year, the Opéra-Comique's annual allowance is said to be only \$73,000. But many French musical critics contend, on the other hand, that the decline of the Opéra-Comique is due to the fact that the managers, in their eagerness to make money, replaced such skilled artists as MM. Lapelleterie and Villabella and Mmes. Lucy Perelli and Yvonne Brothier, by singers with inferior voices who were willing to accept less pay. "With the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique in a lamentable state," says the *New York Times* of May 3, "foreign visitors are deserting Paris." However that may be, it should be added that the Gaieté Lyrique and the Trianon Lyrique are struggling with similar financial difficulties and that the condition of the operas in provincial cities is even far less hopeful.

MISCELLANEOUS—FORT TICONDEROGA, N. Y., has now on display a large collection of historical mementoes among which are some uniforms of the French regiment "La Reine" which fought there with the Marquis de Montcalm against the British in 1758; a pastel of Montcalm, the Duc de Levis and the Chevalier de Bourgainville congratulating the French troops on their victory over the English under Abercrombie; etc.—CADILLAC, who staked out the site of the city of Detroit, Michigan, on July 24, 1701, was included by the *Detroit Free Press*, in its recent centennial edition, among the nine great civic leaders of that city. Another French name in the roster is that of Père Gabriel Richard.—A MEMORIAL to Admiral Francis Joseph Paul, Count de Grasse, the victor of the Virginia Capes on Sept. 5, 1781, was unveiled in the Trocadero gardens, Paris, on May 4. The monument was donated by A. K. Macomber, President of the American Hospital in Neuilly.—THE STATE DEPARTMENT at Washington issued in April the second volume of the *Treaty Edition*, which contains the texts of many foreign treaties, including that with France on Feb. 6, 1778; Pinckney's treaty with Spain of 1795, fixing the frontier of the Floridas; the convention with France of 1800, "which composed the relations between the two countries"; the treaty for the cession of Louisiana by Napoleon in 1803; etc.—MARGUERITE BOURGEOYS, who labored as a missionary in Canada from 1653 until her death at the age of 80, is reported to have passed the two preliminary stages to canonization. She devoted herself mainly to the education of young girls.—DR. WILL DURANT lists, in his *Adventures in Genius*, "the ten greatest thinkers," among whom the Latin countries are represented only by St. Thomas Aquinas and Voltaire. The others are Confucius, Plato, Aristotle, Copernicus, Francis Bacon, Newton, Kant and Darwin. The only Latin name to figure among his "ten greatest poets" is Dante.—ANONY-

MOUS CONTRIBUTIONS from Americans have enabled the Archaeological and Historical Society of the Limousin to complete the exhuming of the Roman Villa d'Antoine, located near Pierre Buffière. The excavations have revealed many well preserved rooms of which the walls are painted red as at Pompeii.—WASHINGTON is now enjoying a surplus of Davilas. They are the following: Carlos G. Davila, Ambassador of Chile; Charles A. Davila, Minister of Rumania; Cesar A. Davila, Commercial Attaché of Venezuela; Felix C. Davila, Resident Commissioner of Porto Rico; and Celeo Davila, newly appointed Minister of Honduras.—THE SO-CALLED "HOLY GRAIL," which now belongs to F. Kouchakji of New York, has been placed on exhibition in the Louvre, according to the *New York Times* of June 14.—GEORGE DUHAMEL's work, discussed in the last issue of the ROMANIC REVIEW (pp. 188-189), appeared on May 29 in an English translation under the title of *America, the Menace*. Notwithstanding the sensational publicity given to it, most critics seemed to find much amusement therein. Thus, T. R. Ybarra reviews it, along with Lucien Lehman's *The American Illusion* (*Le Grand Mirage, U. S. A.*) and Paul Achard's *A New Slant on America* (*Un Côté neuf sur l'Amérique*), in the *New York Times* of May 31 under the general heading "Three Frenchmen Look with Disapproval on our Ways." In fact, M. Duhamel compliments us by depicting us as sorts of Gargantuan supermen with respect to gluttony, greed, rapacity and all other vices: E. g., he states that he was invited to New York clubs and asked to drink cocktails composed of "eau de Cologne, dentifrice, wood alcohol, paregoric, varnish, chloride of soda and vitriol." And still we continue to live!—100 AMERICAN JOURNALISTS, chosen from the principal newspapers in the 48 states, will be invited to visit France next year, according to an announcement made at Paris on June 15. The members of this good-will tour will have an opportunity to compete for a \$10,000 prize for the best book describing the trip, as well as for other prizes offered for the best series of articles in the daily press tending to promote better understanding of France in the United States.—O.K. is one of the Americanisms most often heard in Cuban Spanish, according to a recent *Baltimore Sun* dispatch. While terms such as *sport*, *all right*, *club*, *lunch*, *bar*, etc., have been taken over intact, other words have been given Spanish endings: thus, *boxer* becomes *boxeador*; *football player*, *futbolista*; *baseball bat*, *bate*; *miniature golf*, *golfito*; etc. Other golf terms remain unchanged, as *par*, *birdie*, *stymie*, etc.—PREMIER JULES RENKIN, the Catholic party leader of Belgium, established a new precedent on June 11 by reading his Ministerial declaration in both French and Flemish. The Premier further asserted that the Government hoped to find a solution of the language question which has divided the country of late. In that regard he was supported by Albert Devise, Liberal, who added that he formerly thought Belgium should be bilingual, but that lately he had come to the conclusion that, if the proposed system were introduced, Brussels alone could be so, Flanders remaining Flemish-speaking, and Southeastern Belgium, French-speaking.—INTERESTING DATA on the language question in various countries are the following: On May 29 the *New York Times* reported from Berlin that the German language teachers, in a meeting at Hanover, demanded "that only English shall rank as a dominant foreign language in the graded schools, taking issue with the Prussian Minister of Education, who had made French the chief non-classical language in the upper school curriculum." While the Minister "based his action on the belief that French was of greater cultural significance," the teachers held that it was impossible to make French a universal major language requirement in the face of popular opposition which was evident from the fact that more than one-half of the Prussian schools affected had gone over to English. On April 23

the same journal reported from Manila that "the Spanish language is definitely disappearing from the Philippine Islands." Two Spanish dailies in Manila have ceased publication, whereas the three others that are still published have declined in circulation. The English newspapers, on the other hand, have reported steady growth. Also of the 400 candidates in the recent civil service examinations for stenographers, only five were able to pass the Spanish test. "Within a very few years," concludes the *Times* dispatch, "it is believed that the use of Spanish will be either the mark of mixed Spanish blood, or an affectation of culture." From Brussels it was reported on May 17 that legislation was introduced compelling all State officials to be bilingual. Heretofore Flemish officials have been obliged to speak French, but Walloon officials were not forced to speak Flemish. Furthermore if the proposed measure becomes law, "Brussels, the seat of government, is to be declared bi-lingual, with Flemish predominating." From Barcelona the *Times* reports on May 31 that the Minister of Public Instruction in the Spanish Provisional Republic had "conceded to Catalonia the right to re-establish the Catalan language, which was banished from schools, churches and official life under the dictatorship." In the program "for an intense revival of the Catalan language," there are proposals for a university and industrial and technical schools to be conducted in Catalan. Finally, on June 14, 30,000 Basques met at Estella, Spain, to demand of the Spanish Government the creation of a separate Basque State, within the Spanish Republic, consisting of the provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa, Vizcaya and Navarra. According to their statute the dominant language of the State will be Basque.—At PADUA on June 13 were inaugurated ceremonies, which will continue throughout the year, in commemoration of the 700th anniversary of the death of St. Anthony. Two civil events accompanied the religious festival, one being the opening of the Paduan Fair which dates back to 1257, and the other the inauguration of the International Exhibition of Sacred Art, containing more than 2,000 works of art. As St. Anthony was born Fernando Martini at Lisbon, Portugal, in 1195, services were also held in the latter city.—THE HOLY SHROUD, which according to a tradition covered the body of Christ, was exposed in the Turin Cathedral on May 3. In 1898 when the Shroud, which belongs to the Italian royal family, was last exposed, a controversy arose as to its authenticity, some maintaining that it was brought back from the East in 1300 by the Crusader, Godfrey of Charny, and others contending that the image of the body on the Shroud was painted by an artist at Lirey, France, in the 14th century. According to the *New York Times* of May 4 documents have been discovered "showing that the Bishop of Troyes appealed to Clement VII at Avignon to put an end to exhibitions of the Shroud." But the *New Catholic Dictionary* maintains that the authenticity of the relic is not questioned in various Papal pronouncements, although other Shrouds exist elsewhere, especially in France.—ENGLAND AND FRANCE joined, during the week of May 24-31, in holding at Rouen "a pious ceremony of atonement" on the 500th anniversary of Joan of Arc's death at the stake. The climax of the ceremony took place on the last two days in the great market place where the Maid was burned. "More than 1,000 persons," states the *New York Times*, "representing every section of the medieval community of Joan's own epoch, participated." The remark of Bernard Shaw that Joan was lacking in "sex appeal" aroused a storm of disapproval. The *Times* of June 10, however, concludes an editorial with the following words: "The suggestion is that on the subject of Joan of Arc he has been as irreverent and flip as at least two famous writers, Voltaire and Anatole France, were before him. The fact is, of course, that Shaw's *Joan of Arc* is a wise and beautiful and profoundly moving play, reverent in

every essential." On May 28, a Joan of Arc mural was presented to the City Federation Hotel, New York, by Le Lycéum, Société des Femmes de France.—LOUDUN, a small town of France, the birthplace of Théophraste Renaudot, celebrated on May 31 the tercentenary of his founding of the *Gazette de France*, the first newspaper to be published in France.—THE CHEVALIERS OF HASTINGS, a new French organization consisting of descendants of the Normans who fought under William the Conqueror, held their initial ceremonies at the ruined château of Falaise in Normandy on June 21. The Society is the outcome of the fête held at Falaise in June, 1927, to commemorate the 900th anniversary of the birth of William. According to the *New York Sun* of June 20, "approximately half the eligible 'chevaliers' are English, a quarter French and the rest residents of the United States and Canada."—PARIS now has a "Foire aux Livres." This open-air book market inaugurated in the streets during the Spring was so successful that it is to become an annual event. Well-known authors presided over the stalls of literary wares, erected in the main thoroughfares of the city, and a jazz band held forth at the Madeleine market in order to encourage business.—THE FOIRE SAINT-GERMAIN, which from the year of its foundation in 1076 to 1789 was regarded as "the epitome of all the wonders of the world," forms the subject of the contribution "From a Paris Garret," by Richard Le Gallienne in the *New York Sun* of June 20. Among the interesting items mentioned therein is that the Sicilian François Procope, founder of the famous café, "began his career at the Fair as the seller of the first ices ever eaten in Paris." It was also at this Foire that Cyrano de Bergerac is said to have killed the duelling monkey Fagotin and that Arnauld Athos, "late musketeer of the King's guard, gentleman of Béarn," met his death on Dec. 22, 1643, according to the death register of St. Sulpice. According to Mr. Le Gallienne, "this present year the Fair has been imaginatively recreated, a masterpiece of learned antiquarianism and stage carpentry combined."—THE RUE DE VENISE, one of the most picturesque of the ancient streets of Paris, was doomed recently by the Paris Municipal Council for sanitary reasons. According to Rochegude, it drew its name in the 14th century from a sign "A l'Écu de Venise." At No. 27 was the Cabaret de l'Épée de Bois, frequented by Louis Racine, Marivaux, and others. Other interesting streets to be demolished include the Rue Simon-le-Franc, and the Rue des Étuves-St.-Martin.—THE S. S. LAFAYETTE, the largest motorship in the French merchant marine, has, according to the custom of French schools, been "adopted" by the École Centrale. Dr. Léon Guillet, head of the school, presented, in behalf of the professors and students, an honor flag which will be flown by the ship on special occasions.

J. L. G.

